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THE  
**BRITISH PLUTARCH,**

CONTAINING

**THE LIVES**

OF THE MOST EMINENT

**DIVINE,  
PATRIOTS,  
STATESMEN,  
WARRIORS,**

**PHILOSOPHERS,  
POETS,  
AND  
ARTISTS,**

OF

**GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,**

FROM

**THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. TO THE PRESENT TIME.**

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**A New Edition,**

**RE-ARRANGED AND ENRICHED WITH SEVERAL**

**ADDITIONAL LIVES,**

**BY THE**

**REV. FRANCIS WRANGHAM, M.A. F.R.S.**

**OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.**

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**IN SIX VOLUMES.**

**VOL. V.**

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**Triumph, my Britain! Thou hast those to show,  
To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe. (JONSON.)**

**—Τῆς ξυνησεται;**

**(Æsch. 'Εντ. επι Οηζ. 431.)**

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**1816.**



# CONTENTS

## OF THE

### FIFTH VOLUME.

	Born	Died	Page
LXVIII. <i>John Locke</i> .....	(1632—1704)		1
LXIX. <i>Sir George Rooke</i> ..	(1650—1709)		37
LXX. <i>Sir John Holt</i> .....	(1642—1709)		48
LXXI. <i>Gilbert Burnet</i> ..	(1613—1715)		64
LXXII. <i>John Flamsteed</i> ....	(1646—1719)		107
LXXIII. <i>Joseph Addison</i> ....	(1672—1719)		114
LXXIV. <i>Matthew Prior</i> ....	(1664—1721)		
LXXV. <i>John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough</i> ..	(1650—1722)		163
LXXVI. <i>Sir Christopher Wren</i>	(1632—1723)		191
LXXVII. <i>Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer</i> .....	(1661—1724)		218
LXXVIII. <i>Sir Isaac Newton</i> ..	(1642—1726)		245
LXXIX. <i>Sir Richard Steele</i> ..	(1676—1729)		280
LXXX. <i>Francis Atterbury</i> ..	(1662—1731)		306
LXXXI. <i>Samuel Clarke</i> .....	(1675—1729)		344
LXXXII. <i>Richard Bentley</i> ....	(1662—1742)		365
LXXXIII. <i>Alexander Pope</i> ....	(1688—1744)		415
LXXXIV. <i>Jonathan Swift</i> ....	(1667—1745)		465



# THE BRITISH PLUTARCH.

JOHN LOCKE.\*

[1632—1704.]

**JOHN LOCKE** was born at Wrington, in Somersetshire, in 1632.

During his infancy, his education was conducted with paternal affection, but at the same time with great strictness, by his father; who, having been bred to the law, was Steward or Court-Keeper to Colonel Alexander Popham, and upon the breaking out of the civil wars became a Captain in the parliamentary army.

The first part of his learning he received at Westminster School, whence at nineteen he removed to Christ Church, Oxford. He became subsequently a Student of that college, and distinguished himself

\* **AUTHORITIES.** *Biographia Britannica*, *General Biographical Dictionary*, Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque Choisie*, and Towers' *Vindication of the Political Principles of Mr. Locke*.



by two indifferent copies of verses upon Cromwell's peace with the Dutch.\*

\* He wrote both in Latin and English. The collection, 'Musarum Oxoniensium Ελασιφορια' (Ox. 1654) in which these compositions are preserved, contains also verses by Crewe, p. 25, South, p. 40, and Godolphin, p. 36, 99, who all successively made peace with the Stuarts; whereas Locke never sang his palinode on the return of that family, to whom he owed nothing but persecution.

His English verses are entirely in praise of peace: See the Extracts. His Latin, addressed to Cromwell, are;

*Pax regit Augusti, quem vicit Julius, orbem;  
 Ille sago factus clarior, ille togâ.  
 Hos sua Roma vocat magnos, et numina credit:  
 Hic quòd sit mundi Victor, et ille Quies.  
 Tu bellum et pacem populis das, unus utrisque  
 Major es: ipse orbem vincis, et ipse regis.  
 Non hominem, è cælo missum te credimus, unus  
 Sic poteras binos qui superare Deos!*

#### IMITATED.

'Augustus in pacific order sway'd  
 The world, that Julius' conquering arms obey'd:  
 One by his sword achieved a mighty name,  
 And one the meed acquired of civic fame.  
 Applauding Rome proclaim'd them deities;  
 This for wise rule, and that for victories.  
 Thou, sovereign prince, to both superior far,  
 Guidest in peace the world thou'st gain'd by war.  
 From heaven we hail thee, of no mortal race,  
 Who can'st alone two deities surpass.' F. W.

Other verses also by Busby, Markham, and Lewis Atterbury (all of Christ Church) beside many copies subscribed only, through modesty—or prudence, with initials occur in this collection; and it is prefaced and introduced by the compositions, in prose and verse, of Dr. John Owen (the celebrated antagonist of Bishop Walton) who was, in 1654, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. The 'Olive Pacis,' a title including probably an allusion to the

Having taken at the regular periods both his degrees in Arts, he placed himself upon the physick-line, in which profession he practised for a short time at Oxford; but finding his constitution unable to bear the fatigue of much business, and being highly delighted with the philosophy of Des Cartes, he transferred his studies to that branch of science.\*

In the system, indeed, at that time prevalent in Oxford, Locke found little satisfaction. Scholastic disputations were fashionable at both Universities; and the only philosophy taught on the banks of the Isis, the Peripatetic, was perplexed with obscure

Christian name of the Protector, includes verses from Seaman, Vice-Chancellor and Master of Peter House; Arrowsmith of Trinity, Regius Professor of Divinity; Tuckney of St. John's; Horton of Queen's (no fewer than five distinct copies!); Whichcot of King's; Cudworth of Clare-Hall *πυρετε διαληπτοτος*, and Dillingham of Emanuel (three copies). The last extravagantly represents the naval war as having set the sea a boiling, and produced a natural, though not very poetical consequence:

*' Quis furor est igni totum fervere pontum,  
Et milli coctos vicina ad litora pisces?*

*' What madness, with flames to heat ocean's cold breast,  
And send to our neighbours their fish ready drest!'*

F. W.

J. Duport also, with his ready muse, contributes upon the occasion; and one of the cautious, J. V. of Trinity College, begins his address to Cromwell with

*Χαιρ' Αγγλων Βασιλεϋ (τοσα διδρακας ηδε μισθιας,  
Ου θεμιτον ταττειν υνομα μικροτερον)  
Χαιρ', κ. τ. λ.*

\* This is stated on the sole authority of Le Clerc, who being very intimate with Locke, possibly had it from his own mouth.

terms and useless questions, calculated only to furnish matter of controversy. In the room of Aristotle, he substituted several hypotheses from Des Cartes. This writer had now for a considerable period been followed in Holland and at Geneva, and had captivated many others, as well as Mr. Locke, with the variety and perspicuity of his stile, which was admired even by those who did not approve his conclusions.

In 1664, he had an opportunity of going abroad, as Secretary to Sir William Swan, who was appointed Envoy to the Elector of Brandenburg and some other German Princes.

The year following he returned to Oxford, where he continued to improve his knowledge in natural philosophy and physic; and more particularly, in 1666, he concurred in a plan devised by Dr. Plott for keeping a register of the air, in order to perfect the history of what the physicians call the 'Non-naturals.' This he printed at the end of a posthumous piece of Mr. Boyle's, entitled *A General History of the Air*, under the name of '*A Register of the Changes of the Air observed at Oxford by the Barometer, Thermometer, and Hygrometer from June 23, 1660, to March 28, 1667.*'

He was thus employed, when accident brought him acquainted with Antony Ashley Cooper, afterward Earl of Shaftesbury. His Lordship having an abscess in his breast, occasioned by a fall, was advised to drink the Astrop waters. The physician, whom he had desired by letter to have some of these waters ready for him upon his arrival, being engaged with other patients at Oxford, his application was

transferred to Mr. Locke: and he failing to procure them as requested, waited upon his Lordship the day following, to excuse the disappointment. Lord Ashley received him with great civility, and delighted with his conversation not only detained him to supper, but also engaged him to dinner the next day, and even to drink the waters, Locke having expressed some intention of that kind, that he might have more of his society.

This nobleman now became his declared patron: he took him into his house, and soon afterward by his advice submitted to the opening of his abscess. He would not even suffer him to practise physic out of his own family, except among his particular friends; and introduced him to several statesmen of his acquaintance, who showed him extraordinary respect, and urged him to direct his application chiefly to the subject of politics.

Three or four of these illustrious characters, as Le Clerc informs us, having met at Lord Ashley's, rather for amusement than business, after a few short remarks sat down to cards. Mr. Locke looked on for some time while they were at play, and then taking out his pocket-book, began to write with great attention. One of the company inquiring what was his subject; "My Lord," said he, "I am endeavouring to profit, as far as I am capable, in your company: for having waited with impatience for the honour of being in an assembly of the most eminent geniusses of the age, and having at length obtained this good fortune, I thought I could not do better than write down your conversation; and, indeed, I have noted the substance of what has been said for this hour or two." He had no occasion to read much

of his dialogue: they felt the ridicule, and quitting their game entered upon a more rational species of intercourse.

In 1668, he attended the Countess of Northumberland into France; but an unforeseen accident obliging him after a short stay to return to England, and Lord Ashley having about this time jointly with some others obtained a grant of Carolina, Locke was employed to draw up the Fundamental Constitutions of that province. The articles relative to religion and public worship, however, being framed upon principles little agreeable to the sentiments of some of the clergy, an additional paragraph was by their management inserted, of which Locke has unjustly borne the blame.

In 1670, and the following year, he began to form the plan of his 'Essay on Human Understanding,' but was prevented from making any considerable progress in it by other employments; being, in 1672, appointed by his patron (then Lord Chancellor) Secretary of the Presentations.

The Great Seal being taken from Shaftesbury in the November of the year following, Locke, to whom the Earl had communicated his most secret affairs, fell along with him. He afterward contributed his assistance to some pieces, which that nobleman procured to be published with a view of exciting in the nation a just attention to the interests of liberty. As his Lordship, however, continued President of the Board of Trade, Locke was made Secretary, with a salary of 500*l.* *per ann.*; but this, likewise, was an appointment of short duration, the commission being dissolved in the year 1674.

Being still Student of Christ Church, he frequently

resorted thither, as well for the conveniency of books, as for the improvement of his health, the air of London not agreeing well with his constitution. After taking his degree of M.B. indeed in 1675, he went to Montpelier, being apprehensive of a consumption: keeping up however, at the same time, an acquaintance with several of the English faculty, and continuing his studies in the profession.\*

At Montpelier, he became acquainted with Thomas Herbert, Esq. afterward Earl of Pembroke, to whom he communicated the project of his celebrated Essay. Thence he proceeded to Paris, where he contracted a friendship with M. Justel the civilian, and at his house met M. Guenelon, a physician of Amsterdam, who read anatomical lectures in that city with high reputation. It was now, also, that the familiarity commenced between Locke and M. Toignard, by whom he was favoured with an early copy of his ‘Harmony of the Gospels.’

Upon the discovery of the Popish plot, the Earl of Shaftesbury was again taken into favour and made President of a new Council appointed by Charles II. in 1679: but being a second time laid aside in less than half a year, he had no opportunity of rendering any fresh service to his friend. Not-

\* What his medical reputation was, may be inferred from the testimony of Sydenham in his book entitled, ‘*Observationes Medicæ circa Morborum Acutorum Historiam et Curationem* ;’ “ You know, likewise, how much my method has been approved of by a person, who has examined it to the bottom, and who is our common friend: I mean Mr. John Locke, who, if we consider his genius and penetrating and exact judgement, or the strictness of his morals, has scarcely any superior and few equals now living.”

withstanding this, Locke continued unalterably attached to him throughout all the vicissitudes of his fortunes; and in 1682, upon his flight into Holland, followed him thither with several letters and writings, which thus evaded search.

He had not been a year on the Continent, when he was accused at the English court of having written certain tracts against the government; and though another person was subsequently discovered to be the author, yet his associating with several English malcontents at the Hague being notified through Sunderland, Secretary of State, to Charles II., his Majesty ordered measures to be taken for expelling him from his studentship. Application for this purpose was made to Bishop Fell, the Dean of Christ Church, who ordered Mr. Locke to appear and answer for himself on the first of January ensuing: but receiving a subsequent and more peremptory command, he removed him without farther delay, November 16, 1684.\*

\* Fell has been charged by some writers, particularly by Dr. Birch in his 'Life of Locke,' with having exceeded his orders; but from the testimony of Le Clerc, as well as the original letters which passed between the Bishop and the Secretary of State upon the occasion, it might almost be inferred that the Prelate was Mr. Locke's friend, and that he suspended the expulsion till he conceived himself obliged instantaneously to comply. Even this friendship however may be questioned, and the Bishop's hesitation ascribed to his doubt of the legality of the order: as in his first reply to Lord Sunderland he says, 'he has long had an eye upon Mr. Locke's behaviour; but though frequent attempts had been made (of which he himself expresses no disapprobation!) to draw the victim into imprudent conversation, by attacking in his company the reputation and insulting the memory of his late patron and friend, and thus to "make his gratitude, as Mr. Fox

Thus, observes a late illustrious historian, while without the shadow of a crime Mr. Locke lost a situation attended with some emolument and great convenience, was the University deprived of, or rather thus from the base principles of servility did she cast away the man, the having produced whom is now her greatest glory; and thus, to those who are not determined to be blind, did the true nature of absolute power discover itself, against which the middling station is not more secure than the most exalted. Tyranny, when glutted with the blood of the great and the plunder of the rich, will condescend to hunt humbler game, and make a peaceable and innocent Fellow of a College the object of it's persecution. In this instance, one would almost imagine there was some instinctive sagacity in the government of that time, which pointed out to them (even before he had

feelingly observes, and all the best feelings of his heart instrumental to his ruin," these attempts had all proved unsuccessful: whence however his Lordship only infers, not his innocence, but that there was not 'in the world such a master of taciturnity and passion!' &c. &c. The hostility of Fell becomes the more probable, if a letter addressed to him by Lord Clarendon, Chancellor of Oxford, in 1666 (and inserted in 'Hollis' *Memoirs*, p. 388) soliciting for him, though he had not taken the degree of M. B., that 'he might be dispensed with to accumulate that degree, he professing himself ready to perform the exercise for both,' may be regarded as genuine. As he had become acquainted in that year with Lord Ashley, the application was probably made at his new friend's request. But both it, and (as we learn from a letter written by Ashley himself between 1670 and 1672, when he was created Earl of Shaftesbury) a subsequent attempt to obtain for him a Doctor's degree, were frustrated. Lord Clarendon too, it should be remembered, must have appeared obviously to his University, in 1666, a fall-



made himself known to the world) the man, who was destined to be the most successful adversary of superstition and tyranny.

After this violent procedure, Locke thought it prudent to remain in Holland till the accession of James II.; when William Penn, who had known him at college, procured for him the promise of a pardon: but he declined the acceptance of this friendly offer, alleging that 'having been guilty of no crime, he had no occasion for forgiveness.'

In May, 1685, the English Envoy at the Hague demanded him of the States General, upon suspicion of his having been concerned in the Duke of Monmouth's invasion. This obliged him to lie concealed nearly twelve months, till it became sufficiently known that he had taken no part in that enterprise.

Toward the latter end of 1686, he re-appeared in public, and in the following year formed a weekly assembly at Amsterdam with Limborch an eminent remonstrant divine, Le Clerc, and some others, for the purpose of discussing subjects of universal learning.

In 1689, he printed at Gouda, in Latin, his 'First Letter upon Toleration.\*

Soon after the Revolution he returned to England, and immediately preferred a claim to his studentship at Christ Church: but that society rejected his pretensions, as the proceedings against him (they contended) were conformable to their statutes. At the same

\* This was translated into English by Mr. Popple, author of the 'Rational Catechism,' and into Dutch and French the same year; and of the English version a second edition was printed, at London, in 1690.

time, however, they offered to admit him a Supernumerary Student; but this he did not think proper to accept. As a sufferer for the principles of the Revolution, he might easily have obtained a very considerable post; but he contented himself with that of Commissioner of Appeals, worth somewhat less than 200*l. per ann.*, which was procured for him by Lord Mordaunt, afterward successively Earl of Monmouth and Peterborough.

About the same time, it was left to his choice whether he would be Envoy at the court of the Emperor, at that of the Elector of Brandenburg, or at any other where he thought the air more salutary; but all these he waived on account of the ill state of his health, which disposed him gladly to accept an offer made him by Sir Francis Masham and his lady, of an apartment in their country-seat at Oates in Essex. This situation proved, in all respects, so agreeable to him, that he spent in it a great part of the remainder of his life.

In 1690, he published his celebrated ‘Treatise on Government,’ which is divided into two parts. In the former, the false principles of Sir Robert Filmer and his followers are detected and overthrown: the latter investigates the true original, extent, and end of civil government.

The same year, he published his ‘Essay on Human Understanding;’ nor was the twelvemonth expired, when his ‘Second Letter upon Toleration’ appeared, in answer to Mr. Jonas Proast, Chaplain of All Souls College, Oxford, who had attacked the First.

In 1691, he printed his ‘Considerations on the Consequences of lowering of Interest, and raising

the Value of Money,' in a Letter addressed to a Member of Parliament.

He subsequently published some other small pieces upon the same subject, and the ministry advised with him concerning the new coinage of the silver-currency; when he suggested an expedient for supplying the necessities of commerce, and the exigencies of the people during the re-coinage, which was approved and recommended by the Lord Chancellor Somers.

In 1692, he gave to the world a 'Third Letter upon Toleration;' which being answered about twelve years afterward by his old antagonist, Mr. Proast, he prepared a 'Fourth,' but he did not live to finish it.

In 1693, his 'Thoughts concerning Education' made their appearance. They were, soon afterward, translated into French and Low Dutch.

In 1695, William III. appointed him one of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. Thus he became engaged in the immediate service of the State; and, with regard to that of the Church, in order to promote the scheme (which his Majesty had much at heart) of a comprehension of the Dissenters, he published, the same year, his 'Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures.' It was attacked in 1696 by Mr. Edwards, in his 'Socinian Unmasked;' upon which, Mr. Locke published two vindications of it.

He was scarcely disengaged from this controversy, before he entered into another. Some arguments in his 'Essay on Human Understanding' having been used by Mr. Toland, in his 'Christianity not Mysterious,' and several treatises being

published about the same time by the Unitarians, maintaining that ‘there was nothing in the Christian religion but what was conformable to reason,’ a sentiment which had been advanced by Mr. Locke; Dr. Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, published in 1697 his ‘Defence of the Doctrine of the Trinity;’ animadverting upon some passages in the ‘Essay’ as tending to subvert the fundamental articles of the Gospel. An answer to this charge was immediately printed by Mr. Locke, to which the Prelate replied; and the controversy was carried on to the following year, when it terminated by the death of Dr. Stillingfleet.\*

It has been generally admitted, that Mr. Locke had considerably the advantage of his Right Reverend opponent in this controversy. An Irish Prelate, in a letter to Mr. Molyneux (an intimate friend of Mr. Locke’s) observes: “I read Mr. Locke’s letters to the Bishop of Worcester with great satisfaction, and am wholly of your opinion, that he has fairly laid the great Bishop on his back; but it is with so much gentleness, as if he were afraid, not only of hurting him, but even of spoiling his clothes. Indeed, I cannot tell which I most admire, the great civility and good manners in his book, or the force and clearness of his reasonings.”

This was the last time, that Mr. Locke employed the press. The asthma, to which he had been long subject, increasing with his years, now rendered him very infirm; and in 1700, being no longer able to

\* This was hastened at least, if not occasioned, as we are informed by Whiston on the authority of the Bishop’s Chaplain, the celebrated Dr. Bentley, by the chagrin of his defeat. (*Memoirs of the Life of Whiston*, I. 291.)

bear the air of London, he resigned his seat at the Board of Trade.

From this time he continued altogether at Oates, where he spent the last years of his life entirely in the study of the Holy Scriptures. His vital powers in 1703 not being renovated at the entrance of the summer (a season which, in former years, had invariably restored him to some degree of vigour) he became so sensible of his approaching dissolution, that though he neglected none of the means known to his own medical skill, he declined calling in any other assistance. At length, his legs began to swell, and his strength very visibly to diminish. He had often spoken of his departure, and always with great composure; and now he calmly prepared to quit the world. As he had been long incapable of going to church, he received the sacrament at home; and two of his friends communicating with him, as soon as the office was finished he told the minister, that 'he was in the sentiments of perfect charity toward all men, and of a sincere union with the Church of Christ under whatever name distinguished.'

After this, however, he lived some months, which he spent in acts of piety and devotion. The day before his death, Lady Masham being alone with him and sitting by his bed-side, he exhorted her to 'regard this world only as a state of preparation for a better;' adding, that 'he had lived long enough, and thanked God for having lived so happily.'

Having had no sleep that night, he resolved to rise the next morning, and being carried into his study was placed in an easy-chair, where he slept a considerable time. Seeming now a little refreshed, he wished to be dressed as usual; and then desired

Lady Masham, who was reading the Psalms, to read them aloud. She did so; and he appeared extremely attentive, till feeling the approach of death, he begged her to break off, and in a few minutes expired. His death took place on the twenty eighth of October, 1704.

He was interred in the church of Oates, where a simple monument was erected to his memory, with an inscription in Latin written by himself, containing all that he thought proper to leave concerning his character. A more particular account of him, however, was afterward published by Mr. Peter Coste, who had known him long, and for some years before his death had lived with him as an amanuensis. From this are selected the following extracts :

“ Mr. Locke had great knowledge of the world, and of the business of it. He won people’s esteem by his probity : his wisdom, his experience, his gentle and obliging manners gained him the respect of his inferiors, the esteem of his equals, the friendship and confidence of those of the highest quality. He was at first pretty much disposed to give advice, where he thought it was wanted; but experience of the little effect it had, made him grow more reserved. In conversation, he was most inclined to the useful and serious turn; but, when occasion naturally offered, he gave into the free and facetious with pleasure, and was master of a great many entertaining stories, which he always introduced properly and told naturally; nor was he any enemy to raillery, when delicate and innocent.

“ He loved to talk with mechanics in their own way; and used to say, that ‘ the knowledge of the arts contained more true philosophy than learned hypotheses.’ By putting questions to artificers, he

would sometimes find out a secret in their art, not well understood by themselves; and by that means give them views entirely new, which they put in practice to their profit.

“ He was so far from affecting any airs of studied gravity, that he would sometimes divert himself by imitating it, in order to ridicule it with better success. Upon these occasions, he always remembered the maxim of Rochefoucault, which he admired above all others, ‘ That gravity is a mysterious carriage of the body, in order to conceal the defects of the mind.’

“ One thing (continues Mr. Coste) which those who lived any time with Mr. Locke could not help observing in him was, that he took delight in making use of his reason in every thing he did; and nothing, that was attended with any usefulness, seemed unworthy of his care: so that we may say of him, what was said of Queen Elizabeth, that he ‘ was no less capable of small things than of great.’ He often used to say himself, ‘ That there was an art in every thing;’ and it was easy to be convinced of it, to see the manner in which he went about the most trifling thing he did, and always with some good reason.”

Among the honours paid to his memory may be mentioned that of the late Queen Caroline, who in her pavilion erected in honour of philosophy placed his bust on a level with those of Bacon, Newton, and Clarke, as the four prime English philosophers.

In 1705, his ‘ Paraphrase and Notes on St. Paul’s Epistles to the Galatians’ were published, and speedily followed by those upon the Corinthians, Romans, and Ephesians: to which was prefixed an ‘ Essay for the understanding of St. Paul’s Epistles, by consulting St. Paul himself.’ In 1706, his Posthumous Works

made their appearance; and two years afterward, some Familiar Letters between him and several of his friends: and, in 1720, Mr. Des Maizeaux gave to the world a collection of several of his pieces never before printed, in one volume octavo.

All his works were published, in a collective form, in three volumes folio,\* in 1714.

In 1781, Dr. Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, published a 'Treatise upon Civil Government,' the great design of which was to oppose Mr. Locke's work on the same subject. In this he maintains, that Locke's principles are "extremely dangerous to the peace and happiness of all society;" his writings, and those of some of his most eminent disciples, as he contends, "having laid a foundation for such disturbances and dissensions, such mutual jealousies and animosities, as ages to come will not be able to settle or compose." Elsewhere, also, he observes;

To authenticate some of these compositions which had previously appeared without his name, the Editors, in the address to the reader, give an extract from Mr. Locke's Will stating that, 'in reply to an application from the Rev. Dr. Hudson, Keeper of the Bodleian Library in the University of Oxford, he had presented to that Collection all the books published under his name; which, though accepted with honourable mention of him, yet were not understood to answer the request made, it being supposed that there were other treatises whereof he was the author, which had been published without his name to them. In compliance, therefore, with what was desired in the utmost extent of it, he names farther his 'Three Letters on Toleration,' 'Two Treatises of Government' (then first published from a copy corrected by himself), and 'the Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures,' with two successive 'Vindications of it.' These are all comprehended in the folio edition.



“ Surely a more pernicious set of opinions than the Lockian could hardly be broached by man :” and speaking of what he calls ‘ the paradoxes,’ which he supposes to attend the system of Locke and his followers, he asserts that “ they render it one of the most mischievous as well as ridiculous schemes, that ever disgraced the reasoning faculties of human nature ”

Against this heavy charge Dr. Towers published, in 1782, ‘ A Vindication of the Political Principles of Mr. Locke ;’ in which he has proved, that the Dean grossly misrepresented his antagonist, and advanced positions totally indefensible. “ Mr. Locke’s Treatise on Government was calculated (he remarks) to increase the liberty of mankind, and to place them in a situation of greater dignity and felicity, than had been afforded them by the various systems of tyranny and oppression, which have taken place under the name of ‘ government’ in the different ages and nations of the world. The great aim of Dean Tucker’s book seems to be, to support ancient systems because they are so, to furnish arguments for perpetuating different kinds of oppression, though not absolute tyranny, and to discourage those noble attempts after a more perfect system of civil policy, which the extension of knowledge and of science might give men just reason to hope for and to expect. Mr. Locke is a clear, rational, consistent writer ; but Dr. Tucker has taken abundant pains to involve him in darkness and obscurity, and to draw imaginary consequences from his propositions, which cannot by any just reasoning be deducible from them, and of which Mr. Locke appears not to

have had the most distant conception." He farther remarks, with reference to Locke's general character, that 'He was rendered truly illustrious by his wisdom and his virtue, by the disinterestedness\* and uprightness of his conduct, by his love of truth, and by his ardent attachment to the great interests of mankind. He analysed the human mind, explained it's operations, and illuminated the intellectual world by the sagacity of his researches. He examined into the foundation of civil government, traced it to it's true source, and illustrated and enforced it's genuine principles. He maintained the justice, the reasonableness, and the necessity of religious toleration with a clearness, a precision, and a force of argument, that had not been equalled by any preceding writer. He laboured to elucidate the Sacred Scriptures, to advance the interests of revelation and of virtue, to loosen the bands of tyranny, and to promote the cause of liberty, of justice, and of humanity. Such was the man, whose character the Dean of Gloucester has laboured to degrade, whose sentiments he has misrepresented, and whose opinions he flatters himself that he has confuted. But these efforts are fruitless, and these imaginations are vain. The sentiments of Mr. Locke are founded

\* Yet one of his great admirers (Mr. Hollis, who reprinted his 'Treatises on Government,' and his 'Letter on Toleration') resenting what he thought his unkind treatment of Toland, has pronounced him "time-serving and peevish:" not sufficiently considering that Mr. Locke, as a serious believer, might be disgusted with some of that gentleman's licentious descants upon religion; or that, while the latter was violent and untractable, the former was rendering services to the public (as the biographer of Hollis suggests) rather of the cool philosophic kind, being of a temper of mind which indisposed him for engaging with the alert and the vivacious.

upon reason, truth, and justice; and his name will continue to be revered wherever learning, liberty, and virtue shall be held in estimation.'

## EXTRACTS.

*'Of our Knowledge of the Existence of a God.*

(Essay, IV. x.)

' 1. Though God has given us no innate ideas of himself; though he has stamped no original characters on our minds, wherein we may read his being; yet having furnished us with those faculties our minds are endowed with, he hath not left himself without witness: since we have sense, perception, and reason, and cannot want a clear proof of him, as long as we carry ourselves about us. Nor can we justly complain of our ignorance in this great point, since he has so plentifully provided us with the means to discover and know him, so far as is necessary to the end of our being and the great concernment of our happiness. But though this be the most obvious truth that reason discovers, and though it's evidence be (if I mistake not) equal to mathematical certainty; yet it requires thought and attention, and the mind must apply itself to a regular deduction of it from some part of our intuitive knowledge, or else we shall be as uncertain and ignorant of this as of other propositions, which are in themselves capable of clear demonstration. To show, therefore, that we are capable of knowing, i. e. being certain that there is a God, and how we may come by this certainty, I think we need go no farther than ourselves, and that undoubted knowledge we have of our own existence.

' 2. I think it is beyond question, that man has a

clear perception of his own being: he knows certainly that he exists, and that he is something. Him that can doubt whether he be any thing or no, I speak not to; no more than I would argue with pure nothing, or endeavour to convince non-entity, that it were something. If any one pretends to be so sceptical, as to deny his own existence (for really to doubt of it, is manifestly impossible) let him for me enjoy his beloved happiness of being nothing, until hunger or some other pain convince him of the contrary. This then, I think, I may take for a truth, which every one's certain knowledge assures him of beyond the liberty of doubting, viz. that he is something that actually exists.

‘ 3. In the next place, man knows by an intuitive certainty, that bare nothing can no more produce any real being, than it can be equal to two right angles. If a man knows not that non-entity, or the absence of all being, cannot be equal to two right angles, it is impossible he should know any demonstration in Euclid. If therefore we know there is some real being, and that non-entity cannot produce any real being, it is an evident demonstration, that from eternity there has been something; since what was not from eternity had a beginning, and what had a beginning, must be produced by something else.

‘ 4. Next, it is evident, that what had it's being and beginning from another, must also have all that which is in and belongs to it's being from another too. All the powers it has must be owing to, and received from, the same source. This eternal source then of all being must, also, be the source and original of all power, and so this eternal being must be, also, the most powerful.

17900



‘ 5. Again, a man finds in himself perception and knowledge. We have, then, got one step farther ; and we are certain now, that there is not only some being, but some knowing intelligent being in the world.

‘ There was a time, then, when there was no knowing being, and when knowledge began to be ; or else there has been, also, a knowing being from eternity. If it be said, ‘ there was a time when no being had any knowledge, when that eternal being was void of all understanding ; ’ I reply, that then it was impossible there should ever have been any knowledge : it being as impossible that things wholly void of knowledge, and operating blindly and without any perception, should produce a knowing being, as it is impossible that a triangle should make itself three angles bigger than two right ones. For it is as repugnant to the idea of senseless matter, that it should put into itself sense, perception, and knowledge, as it is repugnant to the idea of a triangle, that it should put into itself greater angles than two right ones.

‘ 6. Thus from the consideration of ourselves, and what we infallibly find in our own constitutions, our reason leads us to the knowledge of this certain and evident truth ; that there is an eternal, most powerful, and most knowing being, which whether any one will please to call ‘ God,’ it matters not. The thing is evident, and from this idea duly considered, will easily be deduced all those other attributes, which we ought to ascribe to this eternal being. If, nevertheless, any one should be found so senselessly arrogant, as to suppose man alone knowing and wise, but yet the product of mere ignorance and chance, and that all the rest of the universe acted only by that

blind hap-hazard : I shall leave with him that very rational and emphatical rebuke of Tully, II. *De Legg.*, to be considered at his leisure. “ What can be more sillily arrogant and misbecoming, than for a man to think that he has a mind and understanding in him, but yet in all the universe beside there is no such thing ; or that those things, which with the utmost stretch of his reason he can scarcely comprehend, should be moved and managed without any reason at all ? ” *Quid est enim verius, quàm neminem esse oportere tam stultè arrogantem, ut in se mentem et rationem putet inesse, in cælo mundoque non putet ? Aut ea, quæ vix summâ ingenii ratione comprehendat, nullâ ratione moveri putet ?*

‘ From what has been said, it is plain to me we have a more certain knowledge of the existence of a God, than of any thing our senses have not immediately discovered to us. Nay, I presume I may say, that we more certainly know that there is a God, than that there is any thing else without us. When I say ‘ we know,’ I mean there is such a knowledge within our reach, which we cannot miss if we will but apply our minds to that, as we do to several other inquiries.

‘ 7. How far the idea of a most perfect being, which a man may frame in his mind, does or does not prove the existence of a God, I will not here examine. For, in the different make of men’s tempers and application of their thoughts, some arguments prevail more on one, and some on another, for the confirmation of the same truth. But yet, I think this I may say, that it is an ill way of establishing this truth, and silencing Atheists, to lay the whole stress of so important a point as this upon that sole

foundation, and take some men's having that idea of God in their minds (for 'tis evident some men have none, and some worse than none, and the most very different) for the only proof of a Deity ; and out of an over-fondness of that darling invention, cashier or at least endeavour to invalidate all other arguments, and forbid us to hearken to those proofs, as being weak or fallacious, which our own existence and the sensible parts of the universe offer so clearly and cogently to our thoughts, that I deem it impossible for a considering man to withstand them. For I judge it as certain and clear a truth, as can any where be delivered, that " the invisible things of God are clearly seen from the creation of the world, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." Though our own being furnishes us, as I have shown, with an evident and incontestable proof of a Deity ; and I believe nobody can avoid the cogency of it, who will but as carefully attend to it, as to any other demonstration of so many parts : yet this being so fundamental a truth, and of that consequence that all religion and genuine morality depend thereupon, I doubt not but I shall be forgiven by my reader, if I go over some parts of this argument again, and enlarge a little more upon them.

\* 8. There is no truth more evident, than that something must be from eternity. I never yet heard of any one so unreasonable, or that could suppose so manifest a contradiction, as a time wherein there was perfectly nothing : this being of all absurdities the greatest, to imagine that pure nothing, the perfect negation and absence of all beings, should ever produce any real existence.

‘ It, then, being unavoidable for all rational creatures to conclude, that something has existed from eternity, let us next see what kind of thing that must be.

‘ 9. There are but two sorts of beings in the world, that man knows or conceives :

‘ First, Such as are purely material, without sense, perception, or thought, as the clippings of our beards, and parings of our nails ;

‘ Secondly, Sensible, thinking, perceiving beings, such as we find ourselves to be, which (if you please) we will hereafter call ‘ cogitative ’ and ‘ incogitative ’ beings ; which to our present purpose, if for nothing else, are perhaps better terms than ‘ material ’ and ‘ immaterial.’

‘ 10. If, then, there must be something eternal, let us see, what sort of being it must be. And to that, it is very obvious to reason, that it must necessarily be a cogitative being. For it is as impossible to conceive, that ever bare incogitative matter should produce a thinking intelligent being, as that nothing should of itself produce matter. Let us suppose any parcel of matter eternal, great or small, we shall find it in itself able to produce nothing. For example ; let us suppose the matter of the next pebble we meet with eternal, closely united, and the parts firmly at rest together : if there were no other being in the world, must it not eternally remain so, a dead inactive lump ? Is it possible to conceive it can add motion to itself, being purely matter, or produce any thing ? Matter, then, by it's own strength cannot produce in itself so much as motion : the motion it has must also be from eternity, or else be produced and added to matter by some other being more powerful than matter ; matter, as is evident, having not



power to produce motion in itself. But let us suppose motion eternal too; yet matter, incogitative matter and motion, whatever changes it might produce of figure and bulk, could never produce thought: knowledge will still be as far beyond the power of motion and matter to produce, as matter is beyond the power of nothing or non-entity to produce. And I appeal to every one's own thoughts, whether he cannot as easily conceive matter produced by nothing, as thought to be produced by pure matter, when before there was no such thing as thought or an intelligent being existing. Divide matter into as minute parts as you will (which we are apt to imagine a sort of spiritualising, or making a thinking thing of it) vary the figure and motion of it as much as you please, a globe, cube, cone, prism, cylinder, &c. whose diameters are but 1,000,000th part of a gry,\* will operate no otherwise upon other bodies of proportionable bulk, than those of an inch or foot diameter; and you may as rationally produce sense, thought, and knowledge by putting together in a certain figure and motion gross particles of matter, as by those that are the very minutest that do any where exist. They knock, impel, and resist one another, just as the greater do, and that is all they can do. So that if we will suppose nothing first, or eternal, matter can never begin to be: if we suppose bare

\* 'A "gry" is  $\frac{1}{16}$  of a line, a line  $\frac{1}{16}$  of an inch, an inch  $\frac{1}{16}$  of a philosophical foot, a philosophical foot  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a pendulum, whose diadroms, in the latitude of 45 degrees, are each equal to one second of time, or  $\frac{1}{60}$  of a minute. I have affectedly made use of this measure here, and the parts of it, under a decimal division, with names to them; because, I think, it would be of general convenience, that this should be the common measure in the commonwealth of letters.'

matter without motion eternal, motion can never begin to be: if we suppose only matter and motion first, or eternal, thought can never begin to be. For it is impossible to conceive that matter, either with or without motion, could have originally in and from itself sense, perception, and knowledge; as is evident hence, that then sense, perception, and knowledge must be a property eternally inseparable from matter and every particle of it. Not to add, that though our general or specific conception of matter makes us speak of it as one thing, yet really all matter is not one individual thing, neither is there any such thing existing as one material being or one single body that we know or can conceive. And, therefore, if matter were the eternal first cogitative being, there would not be one eternal, infinite, cogitative being, but an infinite number of eternal finite cogitative beings, independent one of another, of limited force and distinct thoughts, which could never produce that order, harmony, and beauty, which is to be found in nature. Since, therefore, whatsoever is the first eternal being must necessarily be cogitative; and whatsoever is first of all things must necessarily contain in it, and actually have, at least, all the perfections that can ever afterward exist; nor can it ever give to another any perfection that it hath not, either actually in itself, or at least in a higher degree; it necessarily follows, that the first eternal being cannot be matter.

‘ 11. If therefore it be evident, that something necessarily must exist from eternity, ’tis also as evident, that that something must necessarily be a cogitative being; for it is as impossible that incogitative matter should produce a cogitative being, as that nothing,

or the negation of all being, should produce a positive being or matter.

‘ 12. Though this discovery of the necessary existence of an eternal mind does sufficiently lead us into the knowledge of God, since it will hence follow that all other knowing beings that have a beginning must depend on him, and have no other ways of knowledge or extent of power than what he gives them; and therefore if he made those, he made also the less excellent pieces of this universe (all inanimate beings) whereby his omniscience, power, and providence will be established, and all his other attributes necessarily follow; yet to clear up this a little farther, we will see what doubts can be raised against it.

‘ 13. First, perhaps it will be said, that ‘ though it be as clear as demonstration can make it, that there must be an eternal being, and that being must also be knowing, yet it does not follow but that a thinking being may also be material.’ Let it be so; it equally still follows, that there is a God. For if there be an eternal, omniscient, omnipotent being, it is certain that there is a God, whether you imagine that being to be material or no. But herein, I suppose, lies the danger and deceit of that supposition: there being no way to avoid the demonstration that there is an eternal knowing being, men devoted to matter would willingly have it granted, that this knowing being is material: and then letting slide out of their minds, or the discourse, the demonstration whereby an eternal knowing being was proved necessarily to exist, would argue all to be matter, and so deny a God, that is, an eternal cogitative being: whereby they are so far from establishing, that they

destroy their own hypothesis. For if there can be, in their opinion, eternal matter without any eternal cogitative being, they manifestly separate matter and thinking, and suppose no necessary connexion of the one with the other, and so establish the necessity of an eternal spirit, but not of matter; since it has been proved already, that an eternal cogitative being is unavoidably granted. Now if thinking and matter may be separated, the eternal existence of matter will not follow from the eternal existence of a cogitative being, and they suppose it to no purpose.

‘ 14. But, now, let us see how they can satisfy themselves or others, that this eternal thinking being is material.

‘ First, I would ask them, whether they imagine that all matter, every particle of matter, thinks? This, I suppose, they will scarcely say; since then there would be as many eternal thinking beings as there are particles of matter, and so an infinity of Gods. And yet if they will allow matter as matter, that is, every particle of matter to be as well cogitative as extended, they will have as hard a task to make out to their own reasons a cogitative being out of incogitative particles, as an extended being out of unextended parts, if I may so speak.

‘ 15. Secondly, If all matter does not think, I next ask, whether it be only one atom that does so? This has as many absurdities as the other; for then this atom of matter must be alone eternal, or not. If this alone be eternal, then this alone, by it's powerful thought or will, made all the rest of matter. And so we have the creation of matter by a powerful thought, which is that the materialists stick at. For if they suppose one single thinking atom to have produced

all the rest of matter, they cannot ascribe that pre-eminency to it upon any other account than that of it's thinking, the only supposed difference. But allow it to be by some other way, which is above our conception, it must be still creation, and these men must give up their great maxim, *Ex nihilo nil fit*. If it be said, that 'all the rest of matter is equally eternal as that thinking atom,' it will be to say any thing at pleasure, though ever so absurd. For to suppose all matter eternal, and yet one small particle in knowledge and power infinitely above all the rest, is without any the least appearance of reason to frame an hypothesis. Every particle of matter, as matter, is capable of all the same figures and motions as any other; and I challenge any one in his thoughts to add any thing else to one above another. / 7 4 2 0

' 16. If then neither one peculiar atom alone can be this eternal thinking being, nor all matter as matter, *i. e.* every particle of matter, can be it; it only remains, that it is some certain system of matter duly put together, that is this thinking eternal being. This is that which, I imagine, is that notion which men are aptest to have of God; who would have him a material being, as most readily suggested to them by the ordinary conceit they have of themselves and other men, which they take to be material thinking beings. But this imagination, however more natural, is no less absurd than the other: for to suppose the eternal thinking being to be nothing else but a composition of particles of matter, each whereof is inco- gitative, is to ascribe all the wisdom and knowledge of that eternal being only to the juxta-position of parts; than which nothing can be more absurd. For unthinking particles of matter, however put together,

can have nothing thereby added to them but a new relation of position, which 'tis impossible should give thought and knowledge to them.

‘ 17. But farther, this corporeal system either has all it's parts at rest, or it is a certain motion of the parts wherein it's thinking consists. If it be perfectly at rest, it is but one lump, and so can have no privileges above one atom.

‘ If it be the motion of it's parts, on which it's thinking depends, all the thoughts there must be unavoidably accidental and limited; since of all the particles that by motion cause thought, each being in itself without any thought cannot regulate it's own motions, much less be regulated by the thought of the whole; since that thought is not the cause of motion (for then it must be antecedent to it, and so without it) but the consequence of it, whereby freedom, power, choice, and all rational and wise thinking or acting will be quite taken away: so that such a thinking being will be no better, nor wiser, than pure blind matter; since to resolve all into the accidental unguided motions of blind matter, or into thought depending on unguided motions of blind matter, is the same thing—not to mention the narrowness of such thoughts and knowledge, that must depend on the motion of such parts. But there needs no enumeration of any more absurdities and impossibilities in this hypothesis (however full of them it be) than that beforementioned; since let this thinking system be all, or a part of the matter of the universe, it is impossible that any one particle should either know it's own or the motion of any other particle, or the whole know the motion of every particular, and so

regulate it's own thoughts or motions, or indeed have any thoughts resulting from such motion.

‘ 18. Others would have matter to be eternal, notwithstanding that they allow an eternal, cogitative, immaterial being. This, though it take not away the being of God, yet since it denies one and the first great piece of his workmanship, the creation, let us consider it a little. Matter must be allowed eternal: Why? Because you cannot conceive, how it can be made out of nothing; why do you not, also, think yourself eternal? You will answer, perhaps, ‘because about twenty or forty years since you began to be.’ But if I ask you ‘what that You is, which began then to be?’ you can scarcely tell me. The matter, whereof you are made, began not then to be; for if it did, then it is not eternal: but it began to be put together in such a fashion and frame as makes up your body; but yet that frame of particles is not you, it makes not that thinking thing You are (for I have now to do with one, who allows an eternal, immaterial, thinking being, but would have unthinking matter eternal too): therefore, when did that thinking thing begin to be? If it did never begin to be, then have you always been a thinking thing from eternity? The absurdity whereof I need not confute, till I meet with one who is so void of understanding as to own it. If, therefore, you can allow a thinking thing to be made out of nothing (as all things, that are not eternal, must be) why, also, can you not allow it possible for a material being to be made out of nothing, by an equal power, but that you have the experience of the one in view, and not the other? Though, when well considered, creation of a spirit will be found to re-

quire no less power than the creation of matter. Nay possibly, if we would emancipate ourselves from vulgar notions, and raise our thoughts as far as they would reach to a closer contemplation of things, we might be able to aim at some dim and seeming conception how matter might at first be made and begin to exist by the power of that eternal first being : but to give beginning and being to a spirit, would be found a more inconceivable effect of omnipotent power. But this being what would perhaps lead us too far from the notions on which the philosophy now in the world is built, it would not be pardonable to deviate so far from them ; or to inquire so far as grammar itself would authorise, if the common settled opinion opposes it : especially in this place, where the received doctrine serves well enough to our present purpose, and leaves this past doubt, that the creation or beginning of any one substance out of nothing being once admitted, the creation of all other except the Creator himself may with the same ease be supposed.

‘ 19. But you will say, ‘ Is it not impossible to admit of the making any thing out of nothing, since we cannot possibly conceive it ? ’ I answer, No : 1. Because it is not reasonable to deny the power of an infinite being, because we cannot comprehend it’s operations. We do not deny other effects upon this ground, because we cannot possibly conceive the manner of their production. We cannot conceive how any thing but impulse of body can move body ; and yet that is not a reason sufficient to make us deny it possible, against the constant experience we have of it in ourselves, in all our voluntary motions, which are produced in us only by the free action or thought of our own minds, and are not,



nor can be the effects of the impulse or determination of the motion of blind matter in or upon our bodies; for, then, it could not be in our power or choice to alter it. For example: My right hand writes, whilst my left hand is still: what causes rest in one, and motion in the other? Nothing but my will, a thought of my mind: my thought only changing, the right hand rests, and the left hand moves. This is matter of fact, which cannot be denied: explain this, and make it intelligible, and then the next step will be to understand creation. For the giving a new determination to the motion of the animal spirits (which some make use of to explain voluntary motion) clears not the difficulty one jot: to alter the determination of motion being in this case no easier nor less, than to give motion itself; since the new determination given to the animal spirits must be either immediately by thought, or in some other body put in their way by thought, which was not in their way before, and so must owe it's motion to thought; either of which leaves voluntary motion as unintelligible as it was before. In the mean time, 'tis an overvaluing ourselves, to reduce all to the narrow measure of our capacities, and to conclude all things impossible to be done, whose manner of doing exceeds our comprehension. This is to make our comprehension infinite, or God finite, when what he can do is limited to what we can conceive of it. If you do not understand the operations of your own finite mind, that thinking thing within you, do not deem it strange that you cannot comprehend the operations of that eternal infinite mind, who made and governs all things, and whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain.'

From the ‘ *Musarum Oxoniensium Ελαιοφορια*,’ 1654.

‘ If Greece with so much mirth did entertain  
Her Argo coming laden home again,  
With what loud mirth and triumph shall we greet  
The wish’d approaches of our welcome fleet ;  
When of that prize our ships do us possess,  
Whereof their Fleece was but an emblem, Peace :  
Whose welcome voice sounds sweeter in our ears,  
Than the loud music of the warbling spheres ;  
And, ravishing more than these, doth plainly show  
That sweetest harmony we to discord owe.  
Each seaman’s voice, pronouncing peace, doth charm,  
And seems a siren’s ; but that ’t has less harm  
And danger in’t, and yet like theirs doth please  
Above all other, and make us love the seas.  
We’ve heaven in this peace ; like souls above,  
We’ve nought to do now, but admire and love.  
Glory of war is victory ; but here  
Both glorious lie, ’cause neither’s conqueror.  
’T had been less honour, if it might be said,  
They fought with those that could be conquered.

Our re-united seas, like streams that grow  
Into one river, do the smoother flow ;  
Where ships no longer grapple, but like those  
The loving seamen in embraces close.  
We need no fire-ships now : a nobler flame  
Of love doth us protect, whereby our name  
Shall shine more glorious ; a flame as pure  
As those of heaven, and shall as long endure.  
This shall direct our ships ; and he, that steers,  
Shall not consult heaven’s fires, but those he bears  
In his own breast. Let Lilly threaten wars :  
While this conjunction lasts, we’ll fear no stars.

Our ships are now most beneficial grown,  
Since they bring home no spoils but what’s their own.  
Unto these branchless pines our forward spring  
Owes better fruit, than autumn’s wont to bring ;  
Which give not only gems and Indian ore,  
But add at once whole nations to our store.

Nay, if to make a world 's but to compose  
The difference of things, and make them close  
In mutual amity, and cause Peace to creep  
Out of the jarring chaos of the deep,  
Our ships do this : so that, whilst others take  
Their course about the world, ours a world make.'

J. LOCKE, *Student of Ch. Ch.*

## SIR GEORGE ROOKE.\*

[1650—1709.]

**SIR GEORGE ROOKE** was the son of a private gentleman of ancient family, in the county of Kent. His father designing him for one of the learned professions, bestowed upon him a liberal education; but having discovered in him a strong propensity to the sea-service, he thought it prudent to comply with it. Accordingly, he procured him a station in the navy early in the reign of Charles II., from which he rose by his merit to the rank of a Captain, a short time previously to the death of that Monarch. In the succeeding reign he received no promotion, being merely retained in the service from the scarcity of good naval officers, as James knew that he wished well to the cause of civil liberty; and, upon the landing of the Prince of Orange, he was dismissed with several others. On this, he immediately enrolled himself under the banners of William, and thus became in some measure instrumental to the success of the Revolution.

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, *Biographia Britannica*, and Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*.

Soon after the accession of the new Sovereign, Admiral Hubert being appointed to the command of the fleet destined to co-operate with the land-forces in the reduction of Ireland, Captain Rooke was raised to the rank of Commodore, and greatly signalised himself upon the occasion.

In 1691, he was made Rear Admiral, and had the honour of convoying his Majesty to Holland, in the beginning of that year, to the general Congress of the Confederates held at the Hague. The operations of the campaign in Flanders being settled, William put himself at the head of the allied army, in order to relieve Mons; but that place having surrendered to the French, he returned to England.

The following year, in the engagement off La Hogue between the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Admiral Russel, and that of France, Rooke confirmed his reputation by the most distinguished acts of judgement and bravery. In this action, which began on the nineteenth of May and continued till the twenty-fourth, he boldly dashed in with boats and fire-ships among thirteen French vessels hauled in very near the shore, and burned the whole with several transports. His royal master was so highly pleased with his intrepidity upon the occasion, that he granted him a considerable pension for life, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood.

The ill success of the English fleet in 1693 was such that his Majesty, upon his return from the Netherlands, could not forbear noticing in parliament the mismanagement of our naval affairs. Far, however, from thinking that Sir George Rooke had

in any way been wanting to his duty, he appointed him successively Vice Admiral of the Red, and Admiral of the Blue.

But it is not in victory alone, that we are to look for bravery and skill in a commander; even in the most adverse events, are frequently to be discerned striking proofs of superior abilities. Such was Rooke's case, when being appointed with twenty three sail of the line to convoy the Smyrna fleet, consisting of nearly five hundred vessels, he was attacked off Cape St. Vincent by eighty French men of war. Yet did he gallantly fight his way through the enemy, and thus give an opportunity to upward of four hundred of the merchantmen to escape.

In 1694, he was appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty; and in 1698, chosen member of parliament for Portsmouth, in which capacity he discharged his duty with such a spirit of independence, that the ministry pressed his Majesty to remove him from his office: William however, to his great honour, invariably refused; saying, "Rooke has served me faithfully at sea, and I will never displace him for acting as he thinks most for the service of his country in the House of Commons."

The year 1699 was a year of peace throughout Europe: but, in 1700, Sir George had a fresh opportunity of signalising his conduct in the Baltic. A strong confederacy having been formed by Russia, Denmark, and Poland, against the young King of Sweden and his brother-in-law the Duke of Holstein, and the Dane having actually invaded the territories of the latter, the King of England and the States-General not only interposed their mediatorial offices; but also, the more effectually to promote their object,

despatched squadrons of men of war into the Sound. Rooke, with the fleet under his command cruising before the Maese, immediately proceeded to the Hague, to confer with the Deputies of the States; and being joined by the Dutch squadron under Lieutenant Admiral Allemond, notwithstanding the delays occasioned by contrary winds, on the eighth of July entered the Sound without opposition.

Here finding that the Swedes expected to have the chief authority, he was obliged to act with great delicacy in order to maintain the national precedency. This he dexterously accomplished, and the united fleet sailed under his command to Copenhagen, which they affected to bombard, but without doing much damage, though they could have laid the city in ashes. His instructions and designs, however, tended only to peace; which being soon afterward happily concluded at Travendal, he returned home about the middle of September with the general approbation.

In the spring of 1701, he was appointed Admiral and Commander in Chief of the fleet: but the war against France not breaking out in the South of Europe till the following year, no naval enterprise offered itself for execution. In the mean time James II. dying at St. Germain's, and the French acknowledging his pretended successor James III., his Majesty summoned a new parliament, in which the Admiral was re-elected for Portsmouth.

Upon this occasion, he nobly refused to sacrifice the independence of an Englishman for titles or emoluments; having, in opposition to the views of the Court, voted for Mr. Harley to be Speaker of the House of Commons, though the King himself not

very constitutionally interested himself in favour of Sir Thomas Lyttelton.

The death of William, which happened during the first session of this parliament, interrupted the designs of his enemies; and the Princess Anne succeeding to the crown, the clamors which had been raised against Sir George by the ministry ceased. He now received the farther honour of being appointed Vice Admiral and Lieutenant of the Admiralty of England and Lieutenant of the fleets and seas of this kingdom, under Prince George of Denmark, who was constituted Lord High Admiral of England and Generalissimo of all her Majesty's forces.

In 1702, Rooke was placed jointly with the Duke of Ormond, at the head of thirty English and twenty Dutch ships of the line, having 10,000 English soldiers on board, in the unsuccessful expedition against Cadiz.

On his passage home he learnt, that the galleons with their convoy had put into Vigo. This he immediately imparted to the Dutch Admiral, declaring it as his opinion, that 'they should directly set sail for that place.' His suggestion was readily adopted, and received the subsequent sanction of a council of flag-officers. The French Admiral, in order to secure his ships and the Spanish flota, had carried them up beyond a narrow streight not only powerfully defended by platforms, upon which he planted his best guns, but likewise crossed by a strong boom of masts, yards, cables, top-chains, and casks measuring twelve yards in circumference, and kept steady by anchors thrown out on both sides.

Undismayed by these preparations, as soon as the



confederate fleet came to an anchor before Vigo on the eleventh of October, Rooke called a council of the sea and land general officers; in which it was resolved that, 'since the whole squadron could not act without imminent danger of running foul of one another, a detachment of fifteen English and ten Dutch men of war, with all the fire-ships, should be sent in to take or destroy the enemy; that the frigates and bomb-vessels should follow in their rear, and that the great ships also should move after them; that the army should at the same time attack the fort on the south-side of Redondella, and thence proceed wherever they might be able to act with the greatest effect. For the better performance of these resolutions, the Admiral, with unwearied vigilance, spent almost the whole night in going from ship to ship in his own boat to give the necessary directions, and to encourage both officers and seamen to 'do their duty.'

The next morning, as soon as the land-forces under the Duke of Ormond were disembarked, Rooke gave the signal to weigh: the line accordingly was formed, and the squadron was briskly bearing up against the boom; when unfortunately, on getting within cannon-shot of the batteries, it fell calm, so that they were constrained to come again to an anchor. Not long afterward however, a fresh gale springing up, Vice Admiral Hopson in the *Torbay*, being next the enemy, cut his cables, and bearing up under full sail amidst all the enemy's fire broke through the boom, and cast anchor between two French men of war. The Dutch Commander, availing himself of a second gale, followed this noble example, and made himself master of one of them, the *Bourbon*.

At last the French Admiral, seeing the platforms in the hands of the victorious English, the boom cut in pieces, and the allied fleet pouring in upon him, set fire to his own ship, and ordered the rest of the Captains under his command to follow his example. In this, however, he could not be so punctually obeyed, but that of his twenty one men of war and seventeen galleons, ten of the first and eleven of the latter fell into the hands of the enemy.

Rooke, on his arrival in London was hailed with the most triumphant acclamations by the people, received the thanks of the House of Commons, and was sworn of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

In 1704, he was appointed to carry over to Portugal the Archduke Charles, who had been raised to the throne of Spain under the title of Charles III. Having performed this service, in pursuance of his farther instructions, he set sail for the Mediterranean, with the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt and a body of land-forces on board. On the eighteenth of May they appeared before Barcelona, hoping that it would declare in their favour. The discovery of a design to surrender to them the place, a few hours before the landing of the troops, disappointed those expectations.

After a few lighter services, in the month of July the fleet passed Cape Palos, and was soon afterward joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel with a reinforcement of thirty three ships of the line. It was now resolved, in obedience to fresh instructions, to repass the Straits, and there await directions from the Kings of Portugal and Spain. Those Monarchs determined, that

they should make a sudden attempt upon Gibraltar. Rooke after a very spirited attack sent in a peremptory summons to the Governor, upon which the town capitulated on the twenty fourth of July, 1704: the garrison being allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and three pieces of brass cannon; and the inhabitants to retain the privileges, which they had enjoyed under their former Sovereign.

The last public service performed for his country by Sir George Rooke was in an engagement at the head of thirty three sail of the line, twelve leagues off Malaga, with the French fleet of fifty ships of war and twenty four large galleys under the command of the Count de Toulouse: but though the engagement lasted from ten in the morning of the thirteenth of August till night, and was accompanied with a mutual loss of nearly 2,500 men, not one ship on either side was taken, sunk, or burnt. It was highly glorious, however, to her Majesty's navy, as the enemy had a superiority of six hundred guns, beside the advantage of cleaner vessels, and galleys to tow their large ships and supply them with fresh men in lieu of their killed or disabled. Rooke now sailed for Gibraltar, and having left 2,000 marines in that garrison, with a sufficient quantity of stores and provisions, returned home.

Of the capture of Gibraltar and the subsequent sea-fight Dr. Stanhope, in his Thanksgiving Sermon before her Majesty at St. Paul's, June 27, 1706, justly observes, 'That we were soon instructed in the mighty concernment of the first, by the seasonable refreshments our fleets found there; after a battle fought on our side with great inequality of

force, but with what resolution and success we need no other evidences than the disability of making any formidable figure at sea, which the French have manifestly lain under ever since.

Yet all these public acknowledgements of Rooke's merit could not silence the calumny of his enemies: a party was formed against him at Court, by whom only a small share of the late signal successes was ascribed to his exertions. Chagrined at this treatment, and resolved at the same time that the affairs of the nation should not receive any obstruction upon his account, he passed the remainder of his days as a country-gentleman at his seat in Kent. A private seal was offered him for passing his accounts; but he refused it, and made them up in the ordinary way with the greatest accuracy.

He did not long, however, survive his retirement; the gout, which had for many years greatly afflicted him, putting a period to his life in January, 1709.

He was thrice married: first, to a daughter of Sir Thomas Howe, of Cold Berwick in Wiltshire, Bart.; secondly, to a daughter of Colonel Francis Luttrell, of Dunster Castle in Somersetshire, who died of her first child, George, the sole heir of his father's fortune; and thirdly, to Miss Knatchbull, of Mersham Hatch in Kent.

Dr. Campbell, in his 'Lives of the Admirals,' appears to have drawn the character of Rooke with considerable impartiality: "He was certainly an officer (he observes) of great merit, if either conduct or courage could entitle him to that character. The former appeared in his behaviour on the Irish station, in his wise and prudent management when he preserved so great a part of the Smyrna fleet, and particularly in

the taking of Gibraltar, which was a project conceived and executed in less than a week. Of his courage he gave abundant testimonies, especially in burning the French ships at La Hogue, and in the battle off Malaga, where he behaved with all the resolution of a British Admiral; and, as he was first in command, was first also in danger. In party-matters he was, perhaps, too warm and eager; for all men have their failings, even the greatest and best: but, in action, he was perfectly cool and temperate; gave his orders with the utmost serenity; and, as he was careful in marking the conduct of his officers, so his candor and justice were always conspicuous in the accounts he gave of them to his superiors: he there knew no party, no private considerations, but commended merit whenever it appeared. He had a fortitude of mind, that enabled him to behave with dignity upon all occasions, in the day of examination as well as in the day of battle: and though he was more than once called to the bar of the House of Commons, yet he always escaped censure, as he likewise did before the Lords; not by shifting the fault upon others or meanly complying with the temper of the times, but by maintaining steadily what he thought right, and speaking his sentiments with that freedom which becomes an Englishman whenever his conduct in his country's service is brought in question. In a word, he was equally superior to popular clamor and popular applause: but, above all, he had a noble contempt for foreign interests when incompatible with our own; and knew not what it was to seek the favour of the great, but by performing such actions as deserved it. In his private life, he was a good husband and kind master;

lived hospitably toward his neighbours, and left behind him a moderate fortune—so moderate that, when he came to make his will, it surprised those who were present ; but Sir George assigned the reason in few words : “ I do not leave much,” said he, “ but what I leave was honestly gotten ; it never cost a sailor a tear, or the nation a farthing.”

## SIR JOHN HOLT, KNT.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE COURT OF KING'S  
BENCH.\*

[1642—1709.]

**T**HIS ornament of the bench, whose character deserves to be transmitted with veneration to the latest posterity, was the son of Sir Thomas Holt, Recorder of Abingdon. He was born at Thame, in Oxfordshire, in the year 1642; and his father soon afterward removing to Abingdon, he received the rudiments of his education at the free-school of that place; whence, at a proper age, he was transferred to Oxford, and became a gentleman-commoner of Oriel College. There, however, he did not remain long enough to entitle him to a degree; having in 1658 removed to Gray's Inn, where he applied himself with such industry to the study of the law, that he quickly became an eminent barrister.

In 1685, he was made Recorder of London, by the King's letters patent.† This office he exe-

\* **AUTHORITIES.** *Life of Sir John Holt*, 1764; Macaulay's *History of England*; *Biographia Britannica*; and *British Biography*.

† The reason of his being appointed, as well as his predecessor, by the crown, was that the city of London had been de-

cuted with great ability for about a year and a half, in the course of which he received the honour of knighthood; but declining to lend his assistance in support of the dispensing power, which James II. was then solicitous to exercise, he was removed. He had previously, also, given offence by another instance of uncourtliness, in refusing to expound the law agreeably to that Monarch's pleasure.

In 1686, he was called to the degree of Serjeant at Law; and being chosen a member of the Convention Parliament in 1688, was appointed one of the Managers for the Commons, at the conferences held with the Lords about his Majesty's Abdication and the consequent vacancy of the Throne. Upon this important occasion, he had abundant opportunities of displaying his attachment to a limited government, which probably contributed to his advancement after the Revolution.

After the accession of the new Sovereigns, in 1689, Sir John Holt was made Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and soon afterward sworn *ex officio* a member of the Privy Council: and though (as Burnet observes) 'he was a young man for so high a post, yet he maintained it all his time with an high reputation for capacity, integrity, courage, and great despatch; so that, since the Lord Chief Justice Hale's time, that bench had not been so well filled as it was by him.' To the functions of his important office he applied himself, indeed, with the utmost assiduity. He was perfect master of the common law; and with his solid

prived of it's charter in 1683; but this was restored to it at the Revolution.



judgement, extensive capacity, and perspicacious understanding he united such a degree of resolution and intrepidity, that he never could be induced to swerve for a moment from what he believed to be right.

During the period of his presiding in this court, many cases deeply affecting the lives, rights, and liberties of the people came in judgement before him. In his definitions, there was a remarkable clearness and perspicuity of ideas; and a distinct arrangement of them, in the analysis of his ratiocinations. Having rightly formed his premises, he seldom erred in his conclusions. His arguments\* were instructive and convincing; and his integrity would never suffer him, even in compliance with his Prince or with either House of Parliament, to deviate from truth and justice.

A remarkable instance of his public spirit and integrity was exhibited upon the following occasion: On June 20, 1694, he delivered his admirable argument in the celebrated case of Lord Banbury. An indictment had been found at Hicks' Hall against the defendant Lord Banbury, by the name of Charles Knollys, Esq. for the murder of Captain Lawson, who had married his sister: this indictment was removed by *certiorari* into the King's Bench, where the defendant pleaded a misnomer in abatement, viz. that William Knollys, Viscount Wallingford, by letters patent under the great seal of England bearing date the eighteenth day of August, 2 Car. I. was created Earl of Banbury, "to have and to hold the

\* They are most of them well reported by Chief Justice Raymond.

dignity to him and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten;" that William had issue Nicholas, his successor; and that through him the dignity had descended upon the defendant, as his son and heir.' To this plea the Attorney General (Sir Edward Ward) replied, that 'the defendant, upon the thirteenth of December, 4 William and Mary, had preferred a petition to the Lords, then in parliament assembled, that he might be tried by his Peers; and that after long consideration that House, disallowing his peerage, had dismissed his petition *secundum legem parliamenti*, and made an order that he should be tried by the course of the common law.' To this replication the defendant demurred, and the Attorney General joined in demurrer.

Upon this case, which was several times solemnly argued at the bar, the Court of King's Bench unanimously pronounced in favour of the defendant. The Chief Justice in particular gave it as his opinion, in the strongest terms, that 'the Court could pay no regard to the order of the House of Lords, by which it was attempted to deprive Lord Banbury of his privilege; as peerage was an inheritance, and all inheritance must be determined by the law of the land. "That House (he observed) had no jurisdiction in an original cause, because it is the last resort. If the parliament took cognisance of original causes, the party would lose his appeal, which the common law indulgeth in all cases, for which reason the parliament is kept for the last resort; and causes come not there, until they have tried all judicatories. If a peer commits treason, or any other crime, he ought to be tried by his peers; but that does not give them any

right to deprive him of his peerage, when the discussion of his title does not come in a legal manner before them. The House of Peers has jurisdiction, indeed (he admitted) over it's own members, and is a supreme court : but it is the law, which has invested them with such ample authorities ; and therefore it is no diminution of their power to say, that they ought to observe those limits which this law has prescribed for them, which in other respects hath made them so great.' His Lordship farther remarked, that as to ' the law of parliament,' which had been talked of, he did not know of any such law ; and every law, which binds the subjects of this realm, ought to be either the common law and usage of the realm, or an act of parliament. What had been said of the law by the King's counsel, he considered as only intended to frighten the Judges ; but that he did not regard it : for though he had all respect and deference for that honourable body, yet he sat there to administer justice according to the law of the land and according to his oath, and that he should regard nothing but the discharge of his duty.'

He was afterward summoned to give his reasons for this judgement to the House of Peers ; and a Committee, of which the Earl of Rochester was chairman, was appointed to hear and report them to the House. But with this summons he refused to comply. " If the record indeed," he said, " were removed before the Peers by Writ of Error, so that it came judicially before them, he would give his reasons very willingly ; but, if he gave them in this case, it would be of very ill consequence to all Judges hereafter in all cases." By this answer, some of the Peers were so highly of-

fended, that they would have committed his Lordship to the Tower. But it was deemed improper to proceed to such extremities.\*

In 1698, a remarkable cause was tried before his Lordship at Guildhall, wherein Richard Lane brought an action against Sir Robert Cotton and Sir Thomas Frankland as Joint Postmasters General, for that ‘a letter of the plaintiff’s having been delivered into the Post-Office by the negligence of the said defendants was there opened, and divers exchequer-bills therein inclosed were taken away.’ In the course of the trial, some difficult points of law being started, the Jury brought in a special verdict.

This case, likewise, was several times argued at the bar; and three of the Judges pronounced, that ‘judgement ought to be given against the plaintiff; but Holt on the other side contended, that ‘It would be very hard on the subject, if the action brought in this case was not a good one; for as the Crown has a revenue of 100,000*l. per ann.* for the management of the Post-Office, care ought to be taken that letters were safely conveyed, and that the subjects should be secured in their properties.’ The other Judges, however, concurring against him, judgement was given for the defendants. But a writ of error was subsequently brought and allowed, on the reason which had been advanced by the Chief Justice; so that the final determination of this affair was in favour of the plaintiff.

In the year 1700, when Lord Somers resigned the

\* This dispute, about the manner in which Lord Banbury should be tried, proved eventually favourable to that nobleman, as he in consequence escaped trial altogether.

Great Seal, King William pressed Holt to accept of it; but he replied, 'that he never had but one Chancery cause in his life, which he lost, and consequently he could not think himself fitly qualified for so great a trust.'

In 1701, upon a case of appeal for murder, in which the King cannot pardon, it was observed by Judge Treby, that 'an appeal was an odious revengeful prosecution, and therefore deserved no encouragement.' On this occasion, Holt with great vehemence exclaimed, 'he wondered that any Englishman should brand an appeal with the name of "an odious prosecution;" for his part, he looked upon it to be a noble remedy, and a true badge of the English rights and liberties.' \*

In the second year of the reign of Queen Anne, a most important cause was agitated by the Judges of what was then called 'The Queen's Bench,' relative to the right of election for members of parliament; upon which occasion, Holt distinguished himself as a steady friend to the liberties of the subject. An action had been brought against the constables of Aylesbury, as the returning officers of that borough, at the suit of a Mr. Ashby one of its burgesses, for having refused to receive his vote. This was tried at the assizes, and the defendants were cast in damages. But a motion was made in the Queen's Bench in arrest of judgement, it being alleged that 'no action laid, or had ever been brought on that

\* His integrity and uprightness as a Judge are celebrated in the 'Tatler,' No. 11, under the character of Verus. In 1708, he published Sir John Keyling's Reports, with some notes of his own, and three modern cases annexed; Armstrong and Lisle, the King and Plumer, and the Queen and Mawgridge. . .

account.' When the case came to be argued, three of the Judges (Powel, Powis, and Gould) gave it as their opinion, that 'no hurt had been done to the man, or at least none but what was too inconsiderable to deserve the notice of the law: that the judging of elections belonged to the House of Commons; and that as this action was the first of it's kind, so if it were allowed, it would bring on an infinity of suits, and involve all officers concerned in elections in great difficulties.'

The Chief Justice, however, differed totally from his brethren upon the subject, and expressed his surprise at some of the arguments which they had advanced. He maintained, that 'Ashby had a right to give his vote; and, if he was obstructed in the enjoyment or exercise of that right, he might legally bring an action against the disturber.' "If the plaintiff," said he, "has a right, he must of necessity have a means to vindicate and maintain it, and a remedy, if he is injured in the exercise or enjoyment of it: and, indeed, it is a vain thing to imagine a right without a remedy; for want of right and want of remedy are reciprocal."—"It is no objection to say, that it will occasion multiplicity of actions: for, if men will multiply injuries, actions must be multiplied too; for every man, that is injured, ought to have his recompence. And, if public officers will infringe men's rights, they ought to pay greater damages than other men, to deter and hinder other officers from the like offences."—"To allow this action will make public officers more careful to observe the constitutions of cities and boroughs, and not to be so partial as they commonly are in all elections, which is indeed a great

and growing mischief, and tends to the prejudice of the peace of the nation.”—“ A right that a man has to give his vote to the election of a person to represent him in parliament, there to concur to the making of laws which are to bind his liberty and property, is a most transcendent thing, and of a high nature, and the law takes notice of it as such in divers statutes.” —“ The right of voting is a right in the plaintiff by the common law, and consequently he shall maintain an action for the obstruction of it.” Many other learned and forcible arguments he adduced on the same side ; but, the majority of the bench having pronounced a different opinion, judgement was given for the defendants.

On January 14, 1703, this judgement was reversed upon appeal in the House of Peers by fifty Lords against sixteen ; Holt still declaring, ‘ that whenever such a cause should come before him, he should direct the jury to make the returning officer pay well for depriving an elector of his vote.’ “ It is,” said he, “ denying him his English right ; and, if this action is not allowed, a man may for ever be deprived of it. It is a great privilege to choose such persons, as are to bind a man’s life and property by the laws they make.”

Here, however, the affair of the electors and the returning officers of Aylesbury did not end. In December 1704, John Paty and four others, who had also prosecuted actions at common law against the constables of Aylesbury, were committed to Newgate by a warrant from the Speaker for a breach of the privileges of the House. Their counsel having moved for an Habeas Corpus, they were

brought up to the Court of Queen's Bench, when three of the Judges were for remanding them to prison; but Holt gave his opinion, in the clearest and strongest manner, that they ought to be discharged. The following has been published as containing the most remarkable passages of his speech upon the occasion :

“ I am very sorry, I am forced to differ from my brethren in opinion ; but, whatever inconveniences or dangers I may incur, I think myself obliged to act according to my conscience. I must declare it is my opinion, that the prisoners ought to be discharged, because it is an illegal commitment ; and *Magna Charta* says, *Quòd nemo imprisonetur nisi per legem terræ*. And, if prosecuting a legal action in a legal method can justify a commitment, then no Englishman's freedom is safe.

“ It is by the law of the land, that the House of Commons have their being ; therefore, it can never be in the power of the Commons to control the law. For my part, I know no privilege of parliament that can be valid, and at the same time contradict the law of England.

“ It is by *Magna Charta*, that the liberty of an Englishman is preserved ; and, without destroying the constitution of England, the liberty of an Englishman cannot be taken from him but for a legal cause.

“ It is pretended, that acting legally is a breach of the privileges of the House of Commons, and that we are not judges of it. This is impossible : when the law, by which the House of Commons sit, justifies the prosecuting of this action ; and it is not in the power of the House of Commons to supersede that power, which gives them their essence.



“ If we can discharge a person committed *per mandatum regis*, à fortiori I think we can discharge from a commitment of the House of Commons.

“ The House of Commons, it is true, have a power over their own members, and may commit them : but to say that their commitment of any other person (though never so unlawful) is unexaminable, will tend to make Englishmen slaves, which, while I sit here, I can never consent to.”

The Chief Justice then observing, that several members of the House of Commons were in court, (Lord Dysart, Mr. Bromley, &c.) added ; “ I hope never to be overawed from doing justice, and I think we sit here to administer equal justice to all her Majesty’s subjects ; and therefore it is my judgement, that these prisoners ought to be discharged.”

In this case, however, he was again over-ruled by the majority of his brethren on the bench. John Paty and one of his fellow-prisoners now moved for a Writ of Error, to bring the matter before the House of Lords. This writ was only to be obtained by petitioning her Majesty, that ‘ the judgement of the Court of Queen’s Bench might be brought before her Majesty in parliament.’ The Commons, alarmed at these petitions, carried up an address to the Queen, desiring her not to grant the writ of error. The opinion of the Judges was taken upon this ; when ten of them, of whom Holt was one, agreed that in civil matters a petition for a Writ of Error was a petition of right, and not of grace. That the House of Commons, therefore, should desire the Queen not to grant a petition of right, in opposition to the very terms of her coronation-oath, was to be regarded as a measure, which might be followed by the most

## SIR JOHN HOLT.

pernicious consequences; and the House of Lords, among other votes upon the occasion, passed the following :

“ That neither House of Parliament has any power, by any vote or declaration, to create to themselves any new privilege, that is not warranted by the known laws and customs of parliament.

“ That every freeman of England, who apprehends himself to be injured, has a right to seek redress by action at law; and that the commencing and prosecuting of an action at common law against any person, not entitled to privilege of parliament, is legal.

“ That the House of Commons, in committing to Newgate John Paty, &c. for commencing and prosecuting an action at the common law, against the constables of Aylesbury, for not allowing their votes in election of members to serve in parliament, upon pretence that their so doing was contrary to a declaration, a contempt of the jurisdiction, and a breach of the privilege of that House, have assumed to themselves alone a legislative authority, by pretending to attribute the force of a law to their declaration; have claimed a jurisdiction not warranted by the constitution; and have assumed a new privilege, to which they can have no title by the laws and customs of parliament: and have thereby, as far as in them lies, subjected the rights of Englishmen and the freedom of their persons to the arbitrary votes of the House of Commons.”

This affair at length occasioned so violent a contest between the two Houses, that the Queen in order to put an end to it dissolved the parliament in April, 1705.

Sir John Holt held the office of Chief Justice for

## SIR JOHN HOLT.

the space of twenty one years, with the highest credit to himself, and the greatest advantage to his country. He died March 5, 1709, at his house in Bedford Row, after a lingering illness, in the sixty eighth year of his age; and was interred in the parish-church of Redgrave, in the county of Suffolk, where a sumptuous marble monument was erected to his memory. He married Anne,\* daughter of Sir John Cropley, Bart., but left no issue.

He had a just sense of the extreme danger of calling in the military power, under the pretence of assisting the civil magistrates in the execution of the laws, and would not upon any occasion give it his countenance. While he held the office of Chief Justice, a riot occurred in Holborn, in consequence of a wicked practice at that time prevalent, of decoying young persons of both sexes to the plantations. These victims were kept prisoners in Holborn, till they could be shipped off; which being discovered, the enraged populace were about to pull down the house. A party of the guards were immediately ordered thither. An officer, however, was first despatched to the Chief Justice, apprising him of the design, and requesting the co-operation of the civil power. On receiving the message, Holt inquired, "Suppose the populace should not disperse at your appearance, what are you to do then?" "We have orders, my Lord (answered the officer) to fire upon them." "Have you, Sir (replied the Chief Justice)? then take notice of what I say: If

\* If we may trust an extract of a Letter from Arbuthnot to Swift (quoted by Chalmers), they did not live very happily together: "I took the same pleasure in saving him (Gay), as Radcliffe did in preserving my Lord Chief Justice Holt's wife, whom he headed out of spite to the husband, who wished her dead."

## SIR JOHN HOLT.

there be one man killed, and you are tried before me, I will take care that you and every soldier of your party shall be hanged. Go back, Sir, to those who sent you, and acquaint them that 'no officer of mine shall attend soldiers;' and let them know at the same time, that 'the laws of this kingdom are not to be executed by the sword:' these matters belong to the civil power, and you have nothing to do with them." He then ordered his tipstaves, with a few constables, to attend him; went himself in person into the midst of the tumult, expostulated with the mob, and assured them that 'justice should be done upon the objects of their indignation;' upon which, they all quietly dispersed.

Two entertaining incidents of his life, preserved in a collection of 'Anecdotes of Eminent Persons,' though of somewhat dubious authority, shall here be inserted.

He was extremely wild, it is said, in his youth; and being once engaged with some of his raking companions in a trip into the country, in which they had spent all their money. it was resolved that they should try their fortune separately. Holt got to an inn at the end of a straggling village, and ordering his horse to be taken care of, bespoke supper and a bed. He then strolled into the kitchen, and seeing a girl about thirteen years old shivering with an ague, inquired of his landlady 'who she was, and how long she had been ill?' The good woman told him, that 'she was her only child, and had been ill nearly a year, notwithstanding all the assistance she could procure from physic.' He shook his head at the doctors, and bade her 'be under no farther concern, for that her daughter should never have another

fit.' He then wrote a few unintelligible words in court-hand on a scrap of parchment, which had been the direction to a hamper, and rolling it up, ordered that 'it should be bound upon the girl's wrist, and remain there until she was well.' As it happened, the ague returned no more; and Holt after having remained there a week, calling for his bill, "God bless you," said the old woman, "you're nothing in my debt, I'm sure; I wish, on the contrary, that I was able to pay you for the cure, which you have performed upon my daughter; if I had had the happiness to see you ten months ago, it would have saved me forty pounds." With pretended reluctance he accepted his accommodation as a recompence, and rode away.

Many years afterward, he went a circuit as one of the Judges of the King's Bench into the same county, when among other criminals an old woman was brought before him charged with witchcraft. To support this charge, several witnesses swore that 'she had a spell, with which she could either cure such cattle as were sick, or destroy those that were well: in the use of this spell she had been lately detected, and it was now ready to be produced in court.' Upon this, the Judge desired it might be handed up to him. It was a dirty ball, wrapped round with several rags, and bound with packthread: these coverings he carefully removed, and beneath them found a piece of parchment, which he immediately recognised as his own youthful fabrication. For a few moments he remained silent; at length, recollecting himself, he addressed the Jury to the following effect: "Gentlemen, I must now relate a particular of my life, which ill suits my present character, and the station in

which I sit; but to conceal it, would be to aggravate the folly for which I ought to atone, to endanger innocence, and to countenance superstition. This bauble, which you suppose to have the power of life and death, is a senseless scrawl which I wrote with my own hand, and gave to this woman, whom for no other cause you accuse as a witch." He then related the particulars of the transaction, with such an effect upon the minds of the people, that his old landlady was the last person tried for witchcraft in that county.

The second is as follows: Being once upon the bench at the Old Bailey, he convicted of a robbery a fellow, whom he remembered to have been one of his old companions. Moved by curiosity to ascertain the fortune of his early contemporaries, he inquired 'what was become of Tom Such-a-one, and Will Such-a-one, and the rest of the party to which they belonged?' Upon which the fellow, with a deep sigh and a low bow, replied, "Ah! my Lord, they are all hanged, except your Lordship and I."

## GILBERT BURNET

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.\*

[1643—1715.]

**GILBERT BURNET** was born at Edinburgh, September 18, 1643. His father, the younger brother of an ancient family in Aberdeenshire, was bred to the civil law; in which, though his modesty† too much depressed his abilities, he attained so high a reputation, that on the Restoration he was appointed one of the Scottish Lords of Session by the title of Lord Cramond. His mother was sister to

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Judge Burnet's *Life of his Father*; *Biographia Britannica*; and Rapin's *History of England*.

† It was his fixed practice, "never to take a fee from the poor, nor from a clergyman suing in the right of his church; and he bestowed a great part of his profits in acts of charity and friendship. As he censured the conduct of the governing Bishops of the day, he was generally called 'a Puritan.' But when he saw that the order itself was struck at, he adhered to it with great zeal and constancy, as he did to the rights of the crown: not once complying with that party, which afterward prevailed in both nations. For though he agreed with Barclay and Grotius, with the latter of whom he had been intimately acquainted, as to their notions of resistance when the laws are broken through by a limited sovereign, yet he did not think that was then the case in Scotland." (*Chalmers*.) The passage referred to in Grotius occurs in his *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, I. iv. 7. 3. &c. *Dicat aliquis, 'rigidam illam obligationem, &c.'*

the celebrated Sir Alexander Johnstoun, called Lord Waristoun, and a warm zealot for Presbytery.

His principles, however, as he refused to acknowledge Cromwell's authority, having thrown him out of employment during the Interregnum, he took upon himself the charge of his son's education. Even at Aberdeen, whither he sent him with a perfect knowledge of Latin at ten years of age, he still continued his principal instructor; and by rousing him to his studies at four o'clock every morning, gave him the habit of early rising, which he only discontinued a few years before his death. At this University he acquired the Greek language, and went through the usual course of Aristotelian logic and philosophy with signal applause. At fourteen, he commenced M.A. After he had taken his degree, his father, though he had designed him for the church, was unwilling to divert him from indulging his passion for the civil and feudal law, to which he applied himself a whole year; receiving from it, as he was often heard to declare, 'juster notions concerning the foundations of civil society and government than are maintained by some divines.' After this, he altered his purpose, and with his father's warm approbation engaged in the study of theology.

In his hours of amusement, he ran through many volumes of history; and, as he had a strong constitution with a prodigious memory, made himself master of an immense extent of learning, which he thus had ready for use upon all occasions.

At eighteen, he was admitted a probationer, or expectant preacher; and, soon afterward, received



the offer of a good benefice from his cousin Sir Alexander Burnet, which in consideration of his youth, however, he declined. On March 23, 1663, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

In 1669, about two years after the death of his father, he visited England; and after six months' stay at Cambridge\* and Oxford, and a visit to London, returned to Scotland. In 1674, he set off upon a tour of some months in Holland and France. At Amsterdam, by the help of a Jewish Rabbi, he not only perfected himself in the Hebrew language, but likewise formed an intimacy with the principal Calvinists, Arminians, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Brownists, Papists, and Unitarians; among whom he used frequently to affirm, 'he met with men of such piety and virtue, that he became fixed in a strong principle of universal charity, and an invincible abhorrence of all severities on account of differences of religious opinion.' At Paris he became acquainted with the two celebrated ministers of Charenton, Daillé and Morus: and he was treated with great kindness by Lord Hollis, then English Ambassador at the French Court.

Upon his return to Scotland in 1665, he was admitted into holy orders by the Bishop of Edinburgh, and presented to the living of Saltoun, which had

\* At Cambridge, he had an opportunity of conversing with Drs. Cudworth, Pearson, Thomas Burnet, and Henry More: and at Oxford, his accurate knowledge of the Councils and the Fathers strongly recommended him to Drs. Fell, Pocock, and Wallis. The latter giving him a letter of introduction to the Hon. Robert Boyle, he was introduced in London to Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Lloyd, Whichcot, and Wilkins, of the clergy; and, of the laity, to Sir Robert Murray.

been kept vacant during his absence, by Sir Robert Fletcher.\* In 1666, the conduct of the Scottish Bishops seemed to him so unworthy of the episcopal character, that he drew up a memorial of their abuses. This, Archbishop Sharp considered as a high indignity, and proposed his deprivation and excommunication: but the spirit, with which Burnet defended himself, protected him from so violent a retribution.

During the five years which he spent at Saltoun, he preached twice every Sunday, and once on one of the week-days: he catechised three times a week, so as to examine every parishioner, old and young, thrice a year: he went round the parish from house to house, imparting instruction, reproof, or comfort as occasion required: the sick he visited twice a day: and he administered the sacrament four times a year, personally instructing all such as gave notice of their intention to receive it. The surplus of his income, after a very frugal expenditure, he bestowed in charity.

In 1668, he was employed, on the suggestion of his friend Sir Robert Murray, in negotiating a scheme of accommodation between the Episcopal and Presbyterian parties: and, by his advice, many of the latter were put into the vacant churches. That measure, however, he himself subsequently condemned as indiscreet.

\* He had previously declined it, probably as thinking himself still too young. Though he was at this time the only clergyman

Scotland, who read the Church of England Liturgy, yet so exemplary was he in the discharge of his parochial duty, that he gained the esteem even of the Presbyterians. It was, indeed, radical part of his character, to spare no pains in the performance of every function that devolved upon him.

The year following, he was made Divinity Professor at Glasgow; and continued to fill the chair for four years and a half, equally hated by the zealots of both parties. A work, however, which he published at this time, entitled 'A modest and free Conference between a Conformist and a Non-conformist,' acquired him considerable credit with more liberal characters. In his frequent visits to the Duchess of Hamilton, he so far gained her confidence, as to be entrusted with the arrangement of the papers relating to her father's and her uncle's ministry. This led him to compose his 'Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton,' and occasioned his being invited to London by the Earl of Lauderdale, who offered to furnish him with several important anecdotes for that purpose.

During his stay in the English capital, he was offered the choice of four Scottish bishoprics, all of which he refused. Upon his return to Glasgow, he married Lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter to the Earl of Cassilis, a lady of great piety and acquirements, and in high estimation among the Presbyterians, to whose sentiments she was strongly inclined. As there was some disparity however in their ages, that the match might not be referred to avarice or ambition, the day before their marriage he gave the lady a deed renouncing all pretension to her large fortune, which must otherwise (as she had no wish to reserve it) have come into his hands.

Under the influence probably of his noble connexions, Burnet, who certainly was not uniformly consistent in his political opinions, published in 1673 'A Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland.' This

defence of the prerogative of the Crown of Scotland against the principles of Buchanan and his followers, dedicated to the arbitrary Duke of Lauderdale,\* was deemed at that juncture of so much importance, that he was again offered a bishopric, with the promise of the first archbishopric vacant; but, as he found that the great design of the court was to advance Popery, he again declined the offer.

In 1673, he took another journey to London; and having preached before the King, was by his Majesty's own nomination made one of his Chaplains in Ordinary. He, also, stood high in favour with the Duke of York.

The following year, he was obliged to return into the south, to justify himself against the accusations of Lauderdale, who had imputed to him the miscarriage of all the court-measures in Scotland. The King, though at first he received him coldly, and ordered his name to be struck out of the list of Chaplains, at the Duke of York's intercession consented to hear what he could offer in his own justification, and was apparently satisfied with it. As Lauderdale however had not dropped his resentment, Burnet, who was informed that his enemies intended to procure his imprisonment, resigned his Professor's chair, and resolved to settle in London. Here he preached in several churches, and would

\* His dedication he afterward endeavoured to suppress, which gives an additional value to the copies containing it. It was fitting, indeed, that he should do all he could to suppress a panegyric so grossly at variance with the character of that nobleman drawn by him in his 'History of his Own Times,' A. D. 1660. (I. 101.)

have actually been chosen minister of one of them, had not the electors been deterred from their purpose by a royal letter.

About this time, the living of Cripplegate becoming vacant, the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, hearing of his circumstances and his sufferings, sent him an offer of it; but, as he had been apprised of their previous intention of conferring it upon Dr. Fowler, he generously declined their patronage.

In 1675, on the recommendation of Lord Hollis, he was by Sir Harbottle Grimstone, Master of the Rolls, notwithstanding the opposition of the court, appointed Preacher of that Chapel. He was soon afterward, likewise, chosen Lecturer of St. Clement's, and became one of the most popular preachers in the metropolis.

In the same year, he was repeatedly examined at the bar of the House of Commons respecting the designs of Lauderdale, and was obliged to disclose some things which had passed between them in private conversation. In 1676, he published his 'Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton,' and also his 'Account of a Conference between himself, Dr. Stillingfleet, and Coleman.' He also first gave to the world in the ensuing year, with an excellent preface, Scougal's\* invaluable Essay on the 'Life of God in the Soul of Man;' which was subsequently republished, with a commendatory Advertisement by Principal Wishart.

In 1679, appeared the first Volume of his

\* Scougal was the son of a Bishop of Aberdeen, and after having successively filled the chairs of Philosophy and Divinity in that University, died in 1679, at the early age of 28!

‘History of the Reformation;’ for which he received the unprecedented honour of the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, with a request that he would prosecute the work. Two years afterward, the second volume, the composition of which subsequently to his arranging the materials\* occupied only the short space of six weeks, was honoured with the same token of senatorial approbation.

It was on the twenty-ninth of January, 1680, that he addressed to his unprincipled Sovereign the following Letter :

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ I have not presumed to trouble your Majesty for some months, not having any thing worth your time to offer ; and now I choose rather this way, since the

\* The third, which was supplementary, did not appear till 1714. This great and elaborate work is usually esteemed the best of his writings, and most contributed to raise his reputation both at home and abroad, as the fullest account of the transactions which it relates, from the reign of Henry VIII. to the final establishment of the Reformed Faith under Elizabeth in 1559. The Collection of Records, which he gives at the end of each volume, are good vouchers of his correctness ; and are more perfect, indeed, than could reasonably have been expected, after the pains taken by Queen Mary to suppress documents of such a description. Even his keenest enemy, Henry Wharton, allows it to possess ‘ a reputation firmly and deservedly established.’ To his French antagonists, M. Varrillas and M. Le Grand, as well as to a domestic adversary Mr. S. Lowth (who charged him, in his account of some of Cranmer’s opinions, with having ‘ unfaithfully joined’ Dr. Stillingfleet in endeavouring to depreciate episcopal ordination) he himself replied : as well as to Mr. Wharton, who assumed the name of Antony Harmer, and to Dr. Hicckes’ ‘ Discourses on Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tilletson.’ There are French, Latin, and Dutch translations of the first two parts : and, in 1682, he himself published an Abridgement of them in 8vo.

infinite duty I owe you puts me under restraints in discourse, which I cannot so easily overcome. What I shall now suggest to your Majesty, I do it as in the presence of Almighty God, to whom I know I must give an account of all my actions: I therefore beg you will be graciously pleased to accept this most faithful zeal of your poor subject, who hath no other design in it than your good, and the discharge of his own conscience.

“ I must first, then, assure your Majesty, I never discovered any thing like a design of raising rebellion among all those with whom I converse; but I shall add, on the other hand, that most people grow sullen, are highly dissatisfied with you, and distrustful of you. Formerly your ministers, or his Royal Highness (the Duke of York) bore the blame of things ungrateful: but now it falls upon yourself; and time, which cures most other distempers, increases this. Your last speech makes many think, it will be easy to fetch up petitions from all parts of England. This is now under consultation, and is not yet determined; but I find so many inclined to promote them, that as far as I can judge, it will go that way. If your Majesty call a new parliament, it is believed, that those who have promoted the petitions will be generally elected: for the inferior sort of people are much set upon them, and make their judgement of men from their behaviour in that matter. The soberer sort of those, who are ill pleased with your conduct, reckon that either the state of your affairs beyond sea, or of your exchequer at home, will ere long necessitate your meeting your parliament, and that then things must be rectified: and, therefore, they use their utmost endeavours to keep all quiet.

“ If your Majesty hath a session in April for supporting your allies, I find it is resolved by many, that the money necessary to maintain your alliances shall be put into the hands of Commissioners, to issue it as they shall answer it to the two Houses; and these will be so chosen, that as it is likely that the persons will be very unacceptable to you, so they being trusted with the money will be as a Council of State to control all your councils. And as to your exchequer, I do not find any inclination to consider your necessity, unless many things be done to put them into another disposition than I can observe in them.

“ The things that will be demanded will not be of so easy a digestion, as that I can imagine you will ever be brought to them, or indeed that it will be reasonable or honourable for you to grant them. So that, in this disorder of affairs, it is easy to propose difficulties, but not so easy to find out that which may remove them.

“ There is one thing, and indeed the only thing, in which all honest men agree, as that which can easily extricate you out of all your troubles: it is not the change of a Minister, or of a Council, a new Alliance, or a Session of Parliament; but it is (and suffer me, Sir, to speak it with a more than ordinary earnestness) a change in your own heart, and in your course of life. And now, Sir, if you do not with indignation throw this paper from you, permit me with all the humility of a subject prostrate at your feet to tell you, that all the distrust your people have of you, all the necessities you are now under, all the indignation of Heaven that is now upon you and appears in the defeating all your



councils, flow from this; that you have not feared or served God, but have given yourself up to so many sinful pleasures. Your Majesty may, perhaps, justly think, that many of those that oppose you have no regard to religion; but the body of your people consider it more than you imagine. I do not desire your Majesty to put on an hypocritical show of religion, as Henry III. of France did, hoping to have weathered the storms of those times. No! that would be soon seen through; and, as it would provoke God more, so it would increase jealousies. No, Sir; it must be real, and the evidences of it signal: all those about you who are the occasion of sin, chiefly the women, must be removed, and your Court reformed. Sir, if you will turn you to religion sincerely and seriously, you shall quickly find a serene joy of another nature possess your mind, than what arises from gross pleasures: God will be at peace with you, and direct and bless all your councils: all good men would presently turn to you, and ill men would be ashamed and have a thin party. For I speak it knowingly, there is nothing hath so alienated the body of your people from you, as what they have heard of your life, which disposes them to give an easy belief to all other scandalous reports.

“ Sir, this counsel is now almost as necessary for your affairs, as it is for your soul: and though you have highly offended that God, who hath been infinitely merciful to you in preserving you at Worcester fight and during your long exile, and who brought you back so miraculously, yet he is still good and gracious, and will upon your sincere repentance and change of life pardon all your sins, and receive you into his favour. Oh! Sir, what if you should

die in the midst of all your sins? At the great tribunal, where you must appear, there will be no regard to the crown you now wear; but it will aggravate your punishment that, being in so eminent a station, you have so much dishonoured God. Sir, I hope you believe there is a God, and a life to come, and that sin shall not pass unpunished. If your Majesty will reflect upon your having now been twenty years upon the throne; and in all that time how little you have glorified God, how much you have provoked him, and that your ill example hath drawn so many after you to sin that men are not now ashamed of their vices; you cannot but think, that God is offended with you: and, if you consider how ill your councils at home and your wars abroad have succeeded, and how much you have lost the hearts of your people, you may reasonably conclude this is of God, who will not turn away his anger from you till you turn to him with your whole heart.

“ I am no enthusiast, either in opinion or temper; yet I acknowledge I have been so pressed in my mind to make this address to you, that I could have no ease till I did it; and since you were pleased to direct me to send you through Mr. Chiffinch’s hands such information as I thought fit to convey to you, I hope your Majesty will not be offended, if I have made this use of that liberty. I am sure I can have no other design in it, than your good; for I know very well, this is not the method to serve any ends of my own. I therefore throw myself at your feet, and once more, in the name of God whose servant I am, do most humbly beseech your Majesty to consider of what I have written; and not to despise it for theanness of the person who hath sent it, but to

apply yourself to religion in earnest: and I dare assure you of many blessings both temporal and spiritual in this life, and of eternal glory in the life to come. But if you go on in your sins, the judgments of God will probably pursue you in this life, so that you may be a proverb to after-ages: and, after this life, you will be for ever miserable; and I, your poor subject that now am, shall be a witness against you in the great day, that I gave you this free and faithful warning. Sir, no person alive knows, that I have written to you to this purpose; and I chose this evening, hoping your exercise to-morrow (January 30,) may put you in a disposition to weigh it more carefully. I hope your Majesty will not be offended with this sincere expression of my duty to you; for I durst not have ventured on it, if I had not thought myself bound to it both by the duty I owe to God and that which will ever oblige me to be, May it please your Majesty, &c."

The occasion of the above Letter, which is preserved in the 'Life of Burnet' prefixed to the edition of the 'History of his own Times' by Dr. Flaxman, arose from Burnet's attendance at the death-bed of Mrs. Roberts, one of the King's mistresses, for whom he drew up an epistle of such tender expostulation as it might have been fit, for her to address to the royal associate of her guilt; but she never had the vigour to transcribe it. Upon which, he resolved 'to write himself a very strong letter to his Majesty.'\*

\* It does not seem necessary, with Dr. Aikin, to infer from the fact of Charles' throwing it (after a second perusal) into the fire, that there was a want either of judgement or of delicacy in the reproof: since it would be hard to conceive any terms of

Upon the mediation, however, of Lord Halifax a momentary reconciliation took place, and the Mastership of the Temple was promised to the writer; but, upon his refusing to relinquish the society of his friends, the Earl of Essex, Lord Russell, and Sir William Jones, ‘he was (to adopt his own expression) where he was before.’

About this time he attended a sick person, who had been engaged in an amour with the Earl of Rochester. The manner, in which he conducted himself during her illness, excited in that nobleman an ardent desire to become acquainted with him; and throughout a whole winter he spent one evening a week with him, discussing all those topics, upon which men of light faith and loose morals attack Christianity. The happy effect of these conferences is recorded in his invaluable account of the life and death of that witty and repentant profligate; An account, which (as Dr. Johnson has declared, in his ‘Lives of the Poets’) “the critic ought to read for it’s elegance, the philosopher for it’s argument, and the saint for it’s piety.” Wordsworth’s well-chosen motto, from Bishop Taylor, for the reprint of his life, is, “Deceive not yourselves: God’s mercy cannot be made a pattern for any man’s impiety. The purport of it is, to bring us to repentance; and God will do it by the mercies of his mercy, or by the mercies of his judgements.”

During the affair of the Popish Plot, he was often consulted by Charles II. upon the state of the nation; and about the same time he refused the

a hortatory character so managed, as not to have appeared impertinent and officious to such a reader.

bishopric of Chichester, which his Majesty offered him 'provided he would entirely come into his interest.' His unprejudiced conduct at this period, the efforts which he made to save the lives of Stanley and Lord Stafford (both zealous Papists), his moderate language relative to the exclusion of the Duke of York, and his proposal of a Prince Regent in his stead, are sufficiently related in the 'History of his Own Times.'

In 1682, on the change of administration in favour of the Duke, being much resorted to by persons of all parties, in order to avoid returning visits he built a laboratory, and went through a course of chemical experiments. Not long afterward, he refused a living of three hundred pounds *per ann.*, offered him by the Earl of Essex on condition of his continuing to reside in London.

His behaviour on the trial of Lord Russell, his attendance upon him in prison and at his execution, and a suspicion of his being concerned in drawing up that nobleman's speech, having excited against him the indignation of the court, he took a short tour to Paris; where, by the express direction of the French monarch, he was treated with unusual civility, and became acquainted with several eminent persons. Not thinking it right, however, to be longer absent from his professional duties, he returned to London; and was soon afterward, in pursuance of the royal mandate, discharged from his lectureship at St. Clement's. Having also in a sermon at the Rolls Chapel, on the fifth of November 1684, severely inveighed against the doctrines of Popery, he was forbidden to preach there any more. His text, Ps. xxii. 21, *Save me from the Lion's mouth: thou hast*

*heard me from the horns of the Unicorns*, was thought to contain a bold reference to the supporters of the royal arms, though the preacher asserts that he intended no such allusion. The discourse itself was deemed equally bold, especially in quoting the imprecation of James I. against any of his posterity, who should endeavour to introduce Popery. He published, about this period, several works favourable to liberty and Protestantism, among which stand most deservedly high his *Lives of Sir Matthew Hale and Bishop Bedell*.

Upon the accession of the new Monarch, he obtained leave to quit the kingdom. After visiting Paris, he proceeded to Rome, where he met with a most hospitable reception; the Pope himself (Innocent II.) sending him word that ‘to supersede the ceremony of kissing his Holiness’ slipper, he would give him a private audience in bed;’ but from this Dr. Burnet excused himself.

One evening, on visiting Cardinal Howard, he found him distributing relics to two French gentlemen; upon which, he whispered to him in English his surprise, that ‘an English priest should be at Rome, helping them off with the ware of Babylon.’ The Cardinal smiled at the remark, and repeating it in French to his visitors, bade them tell their countrymen, ‘how bold the heretics and how mild the cardinals were in that city.’

Some disputes however, which Burnet held during his stay concerning religion, beginning to be taken notice of, upon an intimation received from Prince Borghese he pursued his travels through Switzerland and Germany. Of these he has given an account in his ‘*Travels*,’ published in 1687. When

at Geneva, he warmly recommended to its clergy some relaxation in the subscription required for orders, the rigour of which had caused the expatriation of many worthy men and the insincere compliance of others.

In 1686, arriving at Utrecht, with the intention of settling in some of the Seven Provinces, he received an invitation from the Prince and Princess of Orange to the Hague; and being admitted to their secret councils, he advised the fitting out of a fleet in Holland for the purpose of encouraging their friends.\* This, and the account of his Travels, in

\* "It is not to be understood," says Mr. Fox (speaking of some exiled conspirators) "that there were no other names upon the list of those who fled from the tyranny of the British government, or thought themselves unsafe in their native country on account of its violence, beside those of the persons above-mentioned, and of such as joined in their bold and hazardous enterprise. Another class of emigrants, not less sensible probably to the wrongs of their country, but less sanguine in their hopes of immediate redress, is ennobled by the names of Burnet the historian and Mr. Locke. It is difficult to accede to the opinion, which the first of these seems to entertain, that 'though particular injustices had been committed, the misgovernment had not been of such a nature as to justify resistance by arms.' But the prudential reasons against resistance, at that time, were exceedingly strong; and there is no point in human concerns, wherein the dictates of virtue and worldly prudence are so identified, as in this great question of resistance, by force to established government. 'Success,' it has been invidiously remarked, 'constitutes in most instances the sole difference between the traitor and the deliverer of his country.' A rational probability of success, it may be truly said, distinguishes the well-considered enterprise of the patriot from the rash schemes of the disturber of the public peace. To command success, is not in the power of man: but to deserve success, by choosing a proper time as well as a proper object, by the prudence of his means no less than by the purity of his views, by a cause not

which he represents Popery and tyranny as inseparable, with some of his papers reflecting on the proceedings of England, induced James II. to insist by his Ambassador that he should be forbidden the Dutch Court. He continued, however, to be trusted and employed as before. And a report being circulated, that he was on the point of being married to a lady of considerable fortune\* at the Hague, in order to prevent this and to put an end to his frequent conferences with the ministers, a prosecution for high treason was set on foot against him both in England and Scotland: but, by obtaining a bill of naturalisation with a view to his intended marriage, he avoided the storm.

Being now legally placed under the protection of Holland, he undertook, in a letter to the Earl of Middleton, to answer all the matters laid to his charge; adding that ‘he regarded his allegiance, during his stay in these parts, as transferred from his

only intrinsically just but likely to insure general support, is the indispensable duty of him who engages in an insurrection against an existing government. Upon this subject the opinion of Ludlow, who though often misled appears to have been an honest and enlightened man, is striking and forcibly expressed: ‘We ought (says he) to be very careful and circumspect in that particular, and at least be assured of very probable grounds, to believe the power under which we engage to be sufficiently able to protect us in our undertaking: otherwise, I should account myself guilty not only of my own blood, but also in some measure of the ruin and destruction of all those that I should induce to engage with me, though the cause were never so just.’ ”

\* Mrs. Mary Scot, who to the advantage of birth and wealth united those of a fine person and cultivated understanding. She was originally descended from the Scots of Buccleugh, in Scotland.



Majesty to the States General.' In another letter, likewise, he stated that, 'if upon non-appearance a sentence should be passed against him, he should for his own justification be compelled to give an account of the share he had taken in public affairs, in which he might be led to mention what he was afraid would not be very satisfactory to his Majesty.'

These expressions gave such offence to the English Court, that dropping the former prosecution, they proceeded against him as guilty of high treason: a sentence of outlawry was passed upon him; and the King having in vain demanded his person, insisted subsequently that 'he should be banished from the Seven Provinces.' This the States refused, alleging, that 'he was become their subject; and, if his Majesty had any thing to lay to his charge, justice should be done in their courts.'

Being thus secured from all danger, he proceeded to forward the important affair of the Revolution. He gave early notice of it to the Court of Hanover; intimating, that 'it's effectuation might probably end in the succession of that illustrious House to the British crown.' He wrote, also, several pamphlets in support of the designs of the Prince of Orange, assisted in drawing up his Declaration and other papers, and when he set off upon his expedition, accompanied him as Chaplain. Upon his landing likewise at Exeter, he suggested the Association, and was of no small service, by his pulpit-cloquence, in confirming or converting proselytes to the great cause in which they were embarked.

During these transactions Dr. Crewe, Bishop of Durham, who had rendered himself obnoxious by his

conduct in the High Commission Court, proposed to the Prince of Orange to resign his bishopric in favour of Dr. Burnet, on condition of an allowance of 1000*l.* *per ann.* out of it's revenues; but Burnet refused to accept it upon those terms.

His services, however, did not long remain unrewarded; for William had not been many days on the throne,\* before he was advanced to the see of Salisbury in the room of Dr. Seth Ward. In the House of Lords, he distinguished himself by declaring for moderate measures with regard to those of the clergy, who scrupled to take the oaths to William and Mary, and by exerting his abilities in promoting a legal toleration of the Protestant Dissenters.

In 1689, a passage in his 'Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of his Diocese, concerning the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary,' which seemed to ground their title to the crown on the right of conquest, gave such offence to both Houses of Parliament, that they ordered it

\* He was consecrated March 31, 1689. From his biographer we learn, that "little anxious after his own preferment, he solicited this see in favour of his old friend Dr. Lloyd, then Bishop of St. Asaph; but William coldly assured him, 'he had another person in view,' and the next day nominated Burnet himself:" and he himself informs us, 'the King used terms more obliging than usually fell from him, and the Queen expressed her hopes that he would now put in practice those notions with which he had taken the liberty often to entertain her!' " Archbishop Sancroft (he adds) for some days seemed determined to venture incurring a *præmunire*, rather than obey the mandate for consecration: but at last he granted a commission to all the Bishops of his province, or any three of them, in conjunction with the Bishop of London, to exercise his metropolitical authority during pleasure."

to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.\*

Upon the close of the session, he went down to his diocese, where he was scrupulously exact in the discharge of his function; particularly in the conferring of orders, and admitting to livings.

His attendance in parliament was constant every winter; and during the summer-seasons he resided, chiefly, at Salisbury. He never failed, however, to hold annual visitations at all the principal towns in his diocese, when he strictly investigated the conduct of the clergy, and took great pains to have youth instructed in Christian principles, looking upon confirmation without previous catechising as an idle ceremony. He even instituted at his own expense a small seminary for students of divinity at Salisbury; but this he discontinued on the suggestion, that 'it might be deemed a virtual censure upon the mode of religious education pursued at the Universities.'

To pluralities of livings, except where two churches lay near each other and were poorly endowed, he was a warm and constant enemy. But whenever non-residence was the consequence of a plurality, he used his utmost endeavours to prevent it, and in some cases even chose to hazard a suspension, rather than give institution. In his Charges, indeed, he exclaimed against pluralities, as a sacrilegious robbery of the revenues of the church; and his zeal upon this subject is recorded, in one instance, to have produced a signal effect. Upon his first visitation at

\* One of a similar tendency, by Charles Blount, was justly consigned, at the same time, to the same fate.

Salisbury, he urged the authority of St. Bernard, who being consulted by one of his followers, ‘Whether he might not accept of two benefices?’ replied, “And how will you be able to serve them both?” “I intend,” answered the priest, “to officiate in one of them by a deputy.” “Will your deputy be damned for you too?” asked the saint. “Believe me, you may serve your cure by proxy, but you must be damned in person.” This expression so affected Mr. Kelsey, a pious clergyman then present, that he immediately resigned the Rectory of Bemerton, worth 200*l. per ann.*, which he then held with one of greater value. Nor was this act of self-denial without it’s reward; for though their principles in church-matters were totally opposite, Burnet conceived such an esteem for him from this action, that he not only persuaded the Chapter to elect him a Canon, but likewise made him Archdeacon of Sarum, and gave him one of the best prebends in the church.

In respect to residence, likewise, he was so strict, that he would not permit even his own Chaplains to attend upon him, after they had once obtained livings. He considered himself indeed, as pastor of the whole diocese, under the same obligation; and would never be absent from it except during his attendance on the parliament, from which, as soon as the principal business of the nation was despatched, he instantly returned to the duties of his episcopal office. And though his Majesty, upon his going over to Ireland or Flanders, always enjoined him to attend the Queen, and assist her with his counsel in all emergencies; he would not on such occasions accept of lodgings at Whitehall, but hired a house at Windsor, in order to be within his own bishopric, and yet near enough

to the court to attend twice a-week, or oftener if business required it.

With William and Mary, though the former is said to have been occasionally offended with his freedom of speech, he continued in great favour during their whole reign. He did not, however, make the ordinary use of court-influence; for though he obtained many employments and gratuities for others, in no instance, it is said, did he solicit a favour for himself or his family: on the contrary, he declined offers of high preferment.

In 1692, he published his ‘Pastoral Care;’ and in 1693, upon doctrinal points, ‘Four Discourses to the Clergy of his Diocese.’ The year following, in a Funeral Sermon on Archbishop Tillotson, he vindicated the memory of that illustrious Prelate from the attack made upon it: and the death of Queen Mary, in 1695, drew from him ‘An Essay on her Character,’ in a high strain of eulogy.

In 1698, when it became necessary to settle the Duke of Gloucester’s family, William sent the Earl of Sunderland with a message to the Princess Anne, acquainting her, ‘that he placed the whole management of her son’s household into her hands, but that he owed the care of his education to himself and his people, and therefore would name the persons for that purpose.’ Accordingly, the Earl of Marlborough was nominated his Governor, and Bishop Burnet his Preceptor. The latter, however, who had then retired into his diocese (having lately lost his second wife by the small-pox \*) although

\* He soon supplied her place by a third, the widow Berkeley, a lady of great respectability, and authoress of a ‘Method of Devotion.’

he was assured that ‘the Princess had testified her approbation of the royal choice,’ entreated the Earl of Sunderland and Archbishop Tennyson to use their interest with the King deprecating the appointment. But his Majesty being extremely solicitous that he should accept the post, and his friends earnestly pressing him not to refuse a station in which he might render his country such signal service, he waited upon William at Windsor, to signify that ‘he was willing to take upon him the trust in question; but as the discharge of it must detain him constantly at court, he desired leave to resign his bishopric.’ The King was much surprised at this proposal, and would by no means consent to it. Finding however that Burnet persisted in it, he consented that ‘the Duke of Gloucester should reside all the summer at Windsor, and that the Bishop should have ten weeks allowed him every year to visit the other parts of his diocese.’

In this high office, he took great pains with his pupil’s education; though the good effects of his care were unhappily intercepted by the untimely death of his royal pupil. “I took to my own province (says he, in his ‘History of his Own Times’) the reading and explaining the Scriptures to him, and instructing him in the principles of religion and the rules of virtue, and the giving him a view of history, geography, politics, and government. I resolved, also, to look very exactly to all the masters, that were appointed to teach him other things.” In another place, speaking of the Duke’s death, he observes, “I had been trusted with his education now for two years, and he had made an amazing progress. I had read over the Psalms, Proverbs, and Gospels with him,

and had explained things that fell in my way very copiously.”——“ I went through geography so often with him, that he went through all the maps very particularly. I explained to him the forms of government in every country, with the interests and trade of that country, and what was both good and bad in it. I acquainted him with all the great revolutions that had been in the world, and gave him a copious account of the Greek and Roman Histories, and of Plutarch’s Lives. The last thing I explained to him was, the Gothic constitution, and the beneficiary and feudal laws. I talked of these things, at different times, nearly three hours a day.”

In 1699, he published his ‘Exposition of the Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of England,’ which is considered as one of the most learned and judicious performances on the subject. It was censured, indeed, by the Lower House of Convocation in 1701; 1. as allowing a diversity of opinions, which the Articles were framed to prevent; 2. as including many passages contrary to the true meaning of the Articles, and to other received doctrines of our church; and 3. as maintaining some things of pernicious consequence to the church, and derogatory from the honour of the Reformation: but that House refusing to enter into particulars, unless they might at the same time offer some other matters to the Upper House which the Bishops would not admit, the affair was dropped. And it was attacked by various writers: Dr. Binckes, who was answered in a Treatise ascribed to Dr. John Hoadly, Primate of Ireland; Dr. Jonathan Edwards, Mr. Burscough, and Mr. Edmund Elys. The scheme for the augmentation of poor livings out of the First

Fruits and Tenth due to the crown was projected by him, and passed into a law in 1704. In 1706, he published a collection of 'Sermons and Pamphlets' in 3 vols. 4to.; in 1710, an 'Exposition of the Church Catechism;' and, in 1713, 'Sermons on several Occasions,' with an 'Essay toward a New Book of Homilies.'

At the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, in 1709, he made a long speech in the House of Peers against that divine, proving that 'the doctrine of non-resistance was not the doctrine of the Church of England.' And though he was less in favour at court in the reign of Queen Anne, than he had been in that of her predecessor, she treated him with sufficient respect, to encourage him to speak openly to her concerning the state of her affairs. In 1710, he told her, as he himself informs us, 'what reports were spread of her throughout the nation, as if she favoured the design of bringing the Pretender to succeed to the crown, upon a bargain that she should hold it during her life. He was sure, that these reports were spread about by persons in the confidence of those, who were believed to know her mind: and that if she were capable of making such a bargain for herself, by which her people were to be delivered up and sacrificed after her death, as it would darken all the glory of her reign, so it must set all her people to consider of the most proper ways of securing themselves by bringing over the Protestant successors; in which he himself would concur, if she did not take effectual means to extinguish those jealousies:' subjoining many other very free remarks, all which she heard very patiently, though she made him but



little answer. "Yet," adds he, "by what she said, she seemed desirous to make me think, she agreed to what I laid before her; but I found afterward, it had no effect upon her. Yet I had great quiet in my own mind, since I had with an honest freedom made the best use I could of the access I had to her."

When he had attained his seventy second year, he was taken ill of a violent cold, which soon changed to a pleuritic fever. He was attended in it by his friend and relation, Dr. Cheyne, who treated him with the utmost skill; but as the distemper grew to a height, which seemed to baffle all remedies, he sent for Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Mead, who quickly found his case to be desperate. When he perceived his end approaching, he employed his few remaining hours in acts of devotion, and in giving advice to his family; of whom he took leave in such a manner, as evinced the utmost tenderness accompanied with the greatest constancy of mind. Yet while he was so little sensible of the terrors of death, as to meet it with joy, he could not but express his concern for the grief which he saw it caused in others. He died March 17, 1715, and was interred in the parish-church of St. James, Clerkenwell,\* where a handsome marble monument was erected to his memory; from the Latin inscription upon which we learn that, as Preacher in the Rolls Chapel,

\* On taking down the old church in September 1788, his remains were unavoidably disturbed. Upon this occasion his body was found inclosed in a leaden coffin, the outside wooden one being decayed. The lead was broken at the head, through which the skull and some hair was visible.

*donec nimis acriter*  
*(ut iis, qui rerum tum poliebantur, visum est)*  
*Ecclesie Romance*  
*malas artes insectatur,*  
*ab officio submotus est—*

\* \* \* \*

*Tyrannidi et Superstitioni*  
*semper infensum scripta eruditissima demonstrant ;*  
*necnon Libertatis patriæ*  
*veræque Religionis strenuum*  
*semperque indefessum propugnatorem ;*  
*quarum utriusque conservandæ spem unam*  
*jam à longo tempore in illustrissimâ domo Brunsvicensi*  
*collocârat.*

After his death, his ‘ History of his own Times with his Life annexed,’ agreeably to his testamentary direction, was published by his son, Thomas Burnet, Esq.; the first volume in 1724,\* and the second ten

\* Of this there are two French versions; one by M. de la Pillo-niere, printed at the Hague in three volumes, 12mo. 1725; the other by an anonymous translator at the same place in the same year, in two volumes 4to. Swift, in his ‘ Short Remarks ’ on this work (ed. 1808, v. 98) says, “ This author is, in most particulars, the worst qualified for an Historian that ever I met with. His stile is rough, full of improprieties, his expressions often Scotch, and often such as are used by the meanest people. His characters are miserably wrought, in many things mistaken, and all of them detracting; except of those, who were friends to the Presbyterians.” Many of those characters were struck through with his own hand, but left legible in the MS., which he ordered in his last will “ his executor to print faithfully as he left it, without adding, suppressing, or altering it in any particular.” In the second volume the Editor promises, that “ the original MS. of both volumes shall be deposited in the Cotton library. But this promise does not appear to have been fulfilled; at least it certainly was not in 1736, when two letters were printed addressed to Thomas Burnet, Esq., in the second of which the writer asserted, that he had in his own possession “ an authentic and complete col-

years afterward. His other works, beside those already mentioned, are, ‘A Relation of the Deaths of the Pri-

lection of castrated passages.” Of these a copy may be found in the European Magazine for 1795 and 1796 (xxvii. 37, 157, 221, 374; xxviii. 88, 245, 312, 392; and xxix. 87.) with MS. Observations on the History by Lords Aylesbury and Hardwicke, Dean Swift, Speaker Onslow, Mr. Goodwin of Baliol College, &c. The Speaker’s notes, however, utter a different language from those of Swift, and their writer (as the late Lord Clarendon has been heard to mention) used to state, ‘he had found many things in the Bishop’s Narrative to be true, which had been objected to as falsities; and that he did not doubt, many more would in process of time be confirmed.’ The same opinion appears, from Nichols’ ‘Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century,’ (I. 562. note) to have been entertained also by Dr. Newcome, Master of St. John’s College, Cambridge, who was accustomed to declare of this work (in opposition to the judgement of Nichols himself, by whom it is ranked with ‘the Histories of Oldmixon, Kennett, and Macaulay’) that “however spoken against at it’s first appearance, it would gain credit by time, and in the end would be justly valued for it’s authority.” The Editor himself likewise, if this note were not already too long, could adduce a strong illustration of the Right Rev. Author’s accuracy (II. 423.) from the valuable Collection of Lord Godolphin’s Papers in the possession of his illustrious descendant the Duke of Leeds. In a copy of this History, also, with MS. Notes by Lord D. Secretary of State at the time described, occurs the following memorandum, at the end of Vol. I. “So far I read, and did not perceive any design in the writer to pervert or mislead: but this (he adds) was not the case in the succeeding volume;” which, however, is chiefly a compilation from the newspapers. By the nonjurors it was creditably denominated, *Opprobrium Historiæ*.

On the ‘Memoirs of P. P. Clerk of this Parish,’ by the Scriblerus Club, Dr. Warton observes: “It was impossible but that such a History as Burnet’s, which these Memoirs are intended to ridicule, relating recent events so near the time of their transaction, should be variously represented by the violent parties that have agitated and disgraced this country; though these parties arise from the very nature of our free government.

mitive Persecutors, translated from the Latin of Lactantius: with a large Preface, in which the Principles, the Spirit, and the Practice of Persecution are freely censured and condemned;’ his ‘History of the Rights of Princes, in disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Church-Lands;’ his ‘Translation and Examination of a Letter, written by the last General Assembly of the Clergy of France to the Protestants, inviting them to return to their Communion, &c.;’ and his ‘Translation of Sir Thomas More’s Utopia,’ preceded by a Preface concerning the Nature of Translations, &c. &c.

Distinguished generally, as a writer, by his vigour and the depth and variety of his knowledge, as a

Accordingly, this Prelate’s ‘History of his own Times’ was as much vilified and depreciated by the Tories, as praised and magnified by the Whigs. Relating the actions of a Persecutor and a Benefactor, he was accused of partiality, injustice, malignity, flattery, and falsehood. Bevil Higgins, Lord Lansdowne, and others wrote Remarks on him; and Lord Peterborough’s animadversions (as his amanuensis, Mr. Holloway, assured Dr. W.) were very severe: but they were never published. As Burnet was much trusted and consulted by King William, and had a great share in bringing about the Revolution, his narratives, it must be owned, have a strong tincture of self-importance and egotism. These two qualities are chiefly exposed in these Memoirs. Hume and Dalrymple have taken occasion to censure him. After all, he was a man of great abilities, of much openness and frankness of nature, of much courtesy and benevolence, indefatigable in his studies and in performing constantly the duties of his station.—Few persons, or Prelates, would have had the boldness and honesty to write such a remonstrance to Charles II. on his dissolute life and manners, as did Burnet in the year 1680. We may easily guess what the sycophants of that profligate court, and their profligate master, said and thought of the piety and freedom of this letter.”

theologian more especially he stands high in the estimation of his church. Of his historical powers a modern writer says :

‘ Yet Burnet’s page may lasting glory hope,  
Howe’er insulted by the spleen of Pope.  
Though his rough language haste and warmth denote,  
With ardent honesty of soul he wrote :  
Though critic censures on his works may shower,  
Like faith, his freedom has a saving power.’ \*

This testimony from a poet, observes Aikin, is the more honourable, as Burnet was by no means partial to poets, and has exposed himself to just obloquy for what he has said of Dryden and Prior.† He appears, indeed, to have been little conversant with the amenities of literature. He had the virtues and the defect of an ardent, active, and honest character. No man seems to have been more honestly zealous in promoting what he thought conducive to the public good ; and he possessed a great fund of benevolence, liberality, and disinterestedness. His failings were

\* Hayley’s ‘ Essay on History.’

† The first he pronounces “ a monster of immodesty, and of impurity of all sorts ” (I. 269.) ; and the latter he calls “ one Prior ” (II. 280.), which a friend to the poet’s memory thus avenged :

“ “ One Prior ! ” and is this, this all the fame,  
The poet from th’ historian can claim ?  
No : Prior’s verse posterity shall quote,  
When ’tis forgot ‘ one Burnet ’ ever wrote.”

His censure also of Milton, whom, though he admits he wrote in Latin with great purity and elegance of stile against Salmasius and others, he seems astonished and almost indignant to find pardoned for his affectation of blank verse and his new and rough words, is not very friendly.

vanity, credulity, officiousness, and a kind of gossiping garrulity. He appears, however, to have been a real lover of truth; though his foibles occasionally exposed him to the charge of misrepresentation. He lived in times, when it was impossible that a conspicuous public character should escape party-abuse; but his name has lost none of its honours in its descent to posterity. His controversial works, indeed, are nearly forgotten; but his two noble Histories, and his Lives of Rochester, Bedell, Hale, &c. will sustain and prolong his fame.

With regard to his domestic habits, private meditation (we are told) took up the two first hours, and the last half hour, of his day. The Morning and Evening Prayers he always read himself to his family, though his Chaplains were present. At the tea-table, he instructed his children in religion, and gave them his own comment upon some portion of Scripture. He seldom spent less than six, and often eight, hours a day in his study. At his table, which was accessible to every one, appeared plenty without luxury: his equipage was decent and plain; and all his expenses were, though generous, short of profusion. He was a most affectionate husband to his wives; and to his children he showed his love most judiciously, not by hoarding up wealth for them, but by giving them an excellent education. In his friendships, he was warm, open-hearted, and constant; and though his station and his principles raised him many enemies, he invariably endeavoured to overcome them by returning good for evil. Kind and bountiful to his servants, he was to all that stood in need most charitable. He gave a hundred pounds at a time for the augmentation of small livings, bestowed pen-

sions on poor clergymen and their widows, and on students for their education at the Universities; and contributed frequent sums toward the repair or the rebuilding of churches and parsonage-houses, to all public collections, to the support of charity-schools, and to the putting out of apprentices. Nor were his alms confined to one nation, sect, or party: want, and merit in the object, were the only measures of his liberality. With regard to his episcopal revenue, he looked upon himself as a mere trustee for the church, bound to expend the whole in a decent maintenance of his station, and in acts of hospitality and charity: and so faithfully had he balanced this account, that at his death no more of the income of his bishopric remained to his family, than was barely sufficient to discharge his debts.

The character of this eminent Prelate, written by his contemporary, the Marquis of Halifax, has been much admired: "Dr. Burnet is, like all men who are above the ordinary level, seldom spoken of in a mean; he must either be railed at, or admired. He has a swiftness of imagination, that no other man comes up to; and, as our nature hardly allows us to have enough of any thing without having too much, he cannot at all times so hold-in his thoughts, but that at some time they may run away with him; as it is hard for a vessel, that is brim-full, when in motion, not to run over: and, therefore, the variety of matter that he ever carries about him may throw out more than an unkind critic would allow of. His first thoughts may sometimes require more digestion, not from a defect in his judgement, but from the abundance of his fancy, which furnishes too fast for him. His friends love him too well to see small

faults; or, if they do, think that his greater talents give him a privilege of straying from the strict rules of caution, and exempt him from the ordinary rules of censure. He produces so fast, that what is well in his writings calls for admiration, and what is incorrect deserves an excuse: he may, in some things, require grains of allowance, which those only can deny him who are unknown or unjust to him. He is not quicker in discerning other men's faults, than he is in forgiving them; so ready, or rather glad, to acknowledge his own, that from blemishes they become ornaments. All the repeated provocations of his indecent adversaries have had no other effect than the setting his good-nature in so much a better light, since his anger never yet went farther than to pity them. That heat, which in most other men raises sharpness and satire, in him glows into warmth for his friends, and compassion for those in want and misery. As dull men have quick eyes in discerning the smaller faults of those that nature has made superior to them, they do not miss one blot he makes: and, being beholden only to their barrenness for their discretion, they fall upon the errors which arise out of his abundance; and by a mistake into which their malice betrays them, they think that, by finding a mote in his eye, they hide the beams that are in their own. His quickness makes writing so easy to him, that his spirits are neither wasted nor soured by it: the soil is not forced: every thing grows and brings forth without pangs; which distinguishes as much what he does from that which smells of the lamp, as a good palate will discern between fruit which comes from a rich mould, and that which tastes of the uncleanly pains that have been bestowed



upon it. He makes many enemies by setting an ill-natured example of living, which they are not inclined to follow. His indifference for preferment, his contempt not only of splendor but of all unnecessary plenty, his degrading himself into the lowest and most painful duties of his calling are such unprelatical qualities, that let him be never so orthodox in other things, in these he must be a dissenter. Virtues of such a stamp are so many heresies in the opinion of those divines, who have softened the primitive injunctions so as to make them suit better with the present frailty of mankind. No wonder then if they are angry, since it is in their own defence; or that from a principle of self-preservation they should endeavour to suppress a man, whose parts are a shame, and whose life is a scandal to them."

That absence of mind, which the French call *Etourderie*, formed a striking feature of his character. About the year 1680, several ladies of quality were imprisoned at Paris on suspicion of poisoning; among others, the Countess of Soissons, niece of Cardinal Mazarin, and mother of Prince Eugene of Savoy. In the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, when that distinguished warrior visited England, Burnet with his accustomed curiosity entreated the Duke of Marlborough to introduce him to his illustrious colleague. With this request his Grace complied; only begging, that 'he would be upon his guard against saying any thing which might create offence.' Mindful of this caution, the Bishop resolved to sit silent during the whole entertainment: but the Prince unfortunately, upon learning his name, among other questions of civility asked him, 'When

*he was last at Paris ?' Fluttered by this unexpected attention, he hastily replied, ' He could not recollect the year, but it was when the Countess of Soissons was imprisoned.' His eyes at this moment meeting those of his noble host, he instantly recognised his blunder ; and deprived of all his remaining discretion, doubled his error by asking pardon of his Highness, stared wildly around him, and seeing the whole company in a state of embarrassment rushed out of the room in the utmost confusion.*

This story is given by Noble, in his continuation of Granger. On the same authority we learn, that " he was extravagantly fond of tobacco and writing: to enjoy both at the same time, he perforated the broad brim of his large hat ; and putting his long pipe through it, puffed and wrote, and wrote and puffed again."

By his first wife, Bishop Burnet had no issue ; but his second bore him three sons and four daughters. He had two children also by his last, both of whom however died in their infancy. William, the eldest, originally bred to the law, became Governor, first of New York and the Jerseys, and subsequently of Massachussets and New Hampshire. He died at Boston in 1729. Gilbert was made King's Chaplain, and distinguished himself as a writer in favour of Hoadly, in the celebrated Bangorian controversy, by his answers to Law and Trapp. In 1719, also, he published an Abridgement of the third volume of his father's ' History of the Reformation.' His youngest, Thomas, brought up to the law, by his dissipated youth gave his father great uneasiness. He, however, allied letters with pleasure ; and wrote numerous pamphlets in behalf of the Whig party.

At length he reformed his conduct, and after being for some time Consul at Lisbon, became one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, in the reign of George II. He was knighted, and died in 1753. A clause in his will gave rise to much conversation after his decease, and to a very serious and sensible pamphlet, entitled ‘The True Church of Christ, which and where to be found, &c.’ A collection also of verses, written by him in his early life, was published in 4to. in 1777.

## EXTRACTS.

*From the Life of Bishop Bedell.*

—‘ This leads me to another part of his character, that must represent the care he took of the natives : he observed, with much regret, that the English had all along neglected the Irish as a nation, not only conquered but undisciplinable ; and that the clergy had scarcely considered them as a part of their charge, but had left them wholly in the hands of their own priests, without taking any other care of them but the making them pay their tithes. And, indeed, their priests were a strange sort of people, that knew generally nothing but the reading their offices, which were not so much as understood by many of them ; and they taught the people nothing but the saying their Paters and Aves in Latin. So that the state both of the clergy and laity was such, that it could not but raise great compassion in a man, that had so tender a sense of the value of those souls that Christ had purchased with his blood : therefore he resolved to set about that apostolical work, of converting the

natives, with the zeal and care that so great understanding required. He knew the gaining on some of the more knowing of their priests was like to be the quickest way : for by their means he hoped to spread the knowledge of the Reformed Religion among the natives ; or rather of the Christian Religion, to speak more strictly. For they had no sort of notion of Christianity, but only knew that they were to depend upon their priests, and were to confess such of their actions as they call ‘sins’ to them, and were to pay them tithes. The Bishop prevailed on several priests to change, and he was so well satisfied with the truth of their conversion, that he provided some of them to ecclesiastical benefices ; which was thought a strange thing, and was censured by many as contrary to the interest of the English nation. For it was believed, that all those Irish converts were still Papists at heart, and might be so much the more dangerous than otherwise by that disguise which they had put on. But he, on the other hand, considered chiefly the duty of a Christian Bishop : he, also, thought the true interest of England was to gain the Irish to the knowledge of religion, and to bring them, by the means of that which only turns the heart, to love the English nation ; and so he judged the wisdom of that course was apparent, as well as the piety of it. Since such as changed their religion would become thereby so odious to their own clergy, that this would provoke them to farther degrees of zeal in gaining others to come over after them : and he took great care to work in those, whom he trusted with the care of souls, a full conviction of the truth of religion, and a deep sense of the importance of it. And in this he was so happy, that of all the con-

verts that he had raised to benefices, there was but one only that fell back when the Rebellion broke out; and he not only apostatised, but both plundered and killed the English among the first. But no wonder if one murderer was among our Bishop's converts, since there was a traitor among the twelve that followed our Saviour. There was a convent of friars very near him, on whom he took much pains with very good success. That he might furnish his converts with the means of instructing others, he made a short Catechism to be printed in one sheet, being English on the one page and Irish on the other; which contained the elements and most necessary things of the Christian Religion, together with some forms of prayer and some of the most instructing and edifying passages of Scripture. This he sent about all over his diocese; and it was received with great joy by many of the Irish, who seemed to be "hungering and thirsting after righteousness," and received this beginning of knowledge so well that it gave a good encouragement to hope well upon farther endeavours.

' The Bishop did, also, set himself to learn the Irish tongue; and though it was too late for a man of his years to learn to speak it, yet he came to understand it to such a degree as to compose a complete Grammar of it (which was the first that ever was made, as I have been told) and to be a critic in it: he, also, had Common Prayer read in Irish every Sunday in his cathedral for the benefit of the converts he had made, and was always present at it himself, and he engaged all his clergy to set up schools in their parishes; for there were so very few bred to read or write, that this obstructed the conversion of the nation very

much. The New Testament and the Book of Common Prayer were already put in the Irish tongue : but he resolved to have the whole Bible, the Old Testament as well as the New, put also into the hands of the Irish ; and, therefore, he laboured much to find out one, that understood the language so well that he might be employed in so sacred a work : and by the advice of the Primate and several other eminent persons he pitched on one King, that had been converted many years before, and was believed to be the elegantest writer of the Irish tongue then alive, both for prose and poetry. He was then about seventy ; but notwithstanding his age, and the disadvantages of his education, yet the Bishop thought him not only capable of this employment, but qualified for an higher character : therefore he put him in orders, and gave him a benefice in his diocese, and set him to work in order to the translating of the Bible ; which he was to do from the English translation, since there were none of the nation to be found, that knew any thing of the originals. The Bishop set himself so much to the revising of this work, that always after dinner or supper he read over a chapter : and as he compared the Irish translation with the English, so he compared the English with the Hebrew and the Seventy Interpreters, or with Diodati's Italian translation which he valued highly ; and he corrected the Irish, where he found the English translators had failed. He thought the use of the Scriptures was the only way to let the knowledge of religion in among the Irish, as it had first let the Reformation into the other parts of Europe ; and he used to tell a passage of a sermon that he heard Fulgentio preach at Venice, with which he was much pleased : it was

on these words of Christ, *Have ye not read?* and so he took occasion to tell the auditory, that if Christ were now to ask this question, *Have ye not read?* All the answer they could make to it was, ‘No;’ for they were not suffered to do it. Upon which, he taxed with great zeal the restraint put on the use of the Scriptures by the See of Rome. This was not unlike what the same person delivered, in another sermon, preaching upon Pilate’s question, *What is Truth?* He told them that ‘at last after many searches he had found it out, and held out a New Testament, and said there it was in his hand:’ but then he put it in his pocket and said coldly, ‘But the book is prohibited;’ which was so suited to the Italian genius, that it took mightily with the auditory. The Bishop had observed, that in the primitive times as soon as nations, how barbarous soever they were, began to receive the Christian Religion, they had the Scriptures translated into their vulgar tongues; and that all people were exhorted to study them: therefore he not only undertook and began this work, but followed it with so much industry, that in a very few years he finished the translation, and resolved to set about the printing of it; for the bargain was made with one, that engaged to perform it. And as he had been at the great trouble of examining the translation, so he resolved to run the venture of the impression, and took that expense upon himself. It is scarcely to be imagined, what could have obstructed so great and so good a work. The priests of the Church of Rome had reason to oppose the printing of a book, that has been always so fatal to them; but it was a deep fetch to possess Reformed divines with a jealousy of this work, and with hard thoughts

concerning it. Yet that was done ; but by a very well disguised method: for it was said, that ‘ the translator was a weak and contemptible man, and that it would expose such a work as this was to the scorn of the nation, when it was known who was the author of it:’ and this was infused both into the Earl of Strafford, and into the Archbishop of Canterbury.’

*A Letter from Dr. G. Burnet to the Marchioness of Wharton, in its conclusion contains what he calls ‘ Conceits swimming in his Thoughts when he wrote last ;’ but “ I had not the leisure,” he adds, “ to make them chime right.”*

‘ PERHAPS the Sisters, moved with high disdain  
 To see themselves outdone by such a strain,  
 Refuse to give the finishings of skill  
 To one, whom Nature furnishes so well.  
 Wit, Fancy, Judgement, Memory agree  
 To raise in you a perfect harmony :  
 Wit gives the treble notes, so brisk, so high ;  
 A copious Fancy makes them gently fly,  
 And gives a killing sweetness to your song ;  
 The base is Judgement deep, and clear, and strong, — }  
 All fitly set, who can resist them long ?  
 The Muses, here, may well their labour spare ;  
 You are above their skill, beyond their care :  
 Or, if they haunt you, ’tis not to inspire,  
 But to take heat at your ethereal fire ;  
 From whence they carry sparks to some cold brain,  
 And dart a flame that imitates your strain.  
 But flat and languid is a forced heat ;  
 ’Tis hardly kindled, and doth feebly beat.

Thus do the Muses, that about you fly,  
 Learning new strains like those above the sky,  
 Come and reproach all, that about the town  
 The glorious name of Poets boldly own.  
 They, with an art like yours, your song do sing :  
 The Poets damp’d give o’er, their harps unstring ;



Their ill-deserved titles they lay down,  
And join their laurels to adorn your crown.  
Thus they, inspired with your well-guided rage  
(Some spite of all defects, some spite of age)  
No other themes they'll any more pursue:  
On you they employ their art, out-done by you.'

## JOHN FLAMSTEED.\*

[1646—1719.]

**T**HIS celebrated Astronomer and Mathematician was the son of Stephen Flamsteed, a substantial yeoman of Denby, a village in Derbyshire, where he was born in the year 1646. From his infancy he had a natural tenderness of constitution, which he was never able to surmount. He was educated at the Free School of Derby; and at fourteen years of age was afflicted with a severe fit of sickness, which being followed by many other indispositions, prevented his proceeding (as had been intended) to the University.

Within a short period of his leaving school in 1662, he received the loan of John de Sacrobosco's book '*De Sphæra*,' which he set himself to study without any instructor. This accident laid the groundwork of all that knowledge, by which he subsequently became so distinguished. He had already perused many volumes of history, ecclesiastical as well as civil; but this subject was entirely new to him, and he was greatly delighted with it. After translating from his author what he thought necessary into English, he

\* **AUTHORITIES.** *Biographia Britannica*; *New General Biographical Dictionary*; *British Biography*; and Keill's Preface to his *Introduction to the True Philosophy*.

proceeded to make dials by the direction of such books as he could procure; and having exchanged a piece of astrology, found among his father's books, for Mr. Street's 'Caroline Tables,' he set himself to compute the places of the planets. He spent some part of his time, indeed, in astrological studies; but it was only with the view of rendering them subservient to useful astronomy.

Having calculated by these tables an eclipse of the sun, he communicated it to a relation, who showed it to Emanuel Halton, Esq., of Wingfield Manor, in Derbyshire. This gentleman, who was a good mathematician (as appears from some of his pieces, published in the Appendix to Foster's Mathematical Miscellanies) came to see Mr. Flamsteed soon afterward; and finding him little acquainted with the astronomical performances of others, sent him Riccioli's 'New Almagest' in Latin, and Kepler's 'Rudolphine Tables,' with some other works of the same description, to which he was previously a stranger. From this time, he prosecuted his studies with equal vigour and success.

In 1669, he calculated some remarkable eclipses of the fixed stars by the moon for the following year, and directed them to Lord Brouncker, then President of the Royal Society. This piece, being read before the Society, procured him their letters of thanks, and accounts of all the mathematical books which were published either at home or abroad.

In June, 1670, his father, who had hitherto discountenanced his studies, observing his correspondence with men of genius, advised him to take a journey to London, that he might be introduced to their personal acquaintance. He, accordingly, visited

Mr. Oldenburgh and Mr. Collins, by whom he was introduced to Sir Jonas Moore, the first English author of a *System of Mathematics*. Sir Jonas received the rustic philosopher under his protection, presented him with Townley's micrometer, and undertook to procure him glasses for a telescope at a moderate rate. Flamsteed soon afterward went to Cambridge, where he visited Barrow, Roe, and Newton; and at the same time he entered himself a student of Jesus College, Sir Jonas Moore contributing to his expenses for that purpose.

In the spring of 1672, he extracted and translated into Latin some observations from Mr. Gascoigne's and Mr. Crabtree's '*Letters on Mathematical Subjects*,' which had not previously been made public. The transcript of Gascoigne's papers he finished in May; and he spent the ensuing six months in making observations, and in preparing advertisements of the approaches of the moon and planets to the fixed stars for the following year. These, with some of his observations on the planets, were published by Mr. Oldenburgh in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

In 1673, he drew up a small English tract concerning the true and apparent diameters of all the planets, when at their nearest or remotest distances from the earth; and in 1674, an *Ephemeris*, to show the falsity of astrology, and the ignorance of those who pretended to it: adding an accurate table of the moon's rising and setting, with her eclipses and approaches (as well as those of the other planets) to the fixed stars. This he communicated to Sir Jonas Moore, with a table of the moon's true southing that year.

In 1674, passing through London in his way to

Cambridge, he learned from that gentleman, that a true account of the tides would be highly acceptable to Charles II.; upon which, he composed a small Ephemeris for his Majesty's use. Sir Jonas having frequently heard him discourse of the barometer, and the certainty of it's indications of the weather, requested him to supply him with a pair, which he subsequently exhibited to the King and the Duke of York, with Flamsteed's directions for interpreting their rise or fall.

Upon taking the degree of M. A. at Cambridge, Mr. Flamsteed resolved to enter into holy orders, and to settle upon a small living near Derby, which was in the gift of one of his father's friends. His patron had, indeed, other views for him; but, finding him fixed in his resolution, he did not attempt to dissuade him from it. Even the warrant of the astronomership royal with a salary of 100*l. per ann.*, which he procured for him in 1675, did not induce him to relinquish his design. The Easter following he was ordained at Ely House by Bishop Gunning, who ever afterward conversed freely with him upon the new philosophy and opinions, though his Lordship continued strenuously to maintain the old.

In the same year, was laid the foundation of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, which from it's first occupier is still called Flamsteed House. During the building of this edifice he lodged at Greenwich, where he observed the appulses of the moon and planets to the fixed stars. In 1681, his 'Doctrine of the Sphere' was published in Sir Jonas Moore's 'System of the Mathematics.'

About the year 1684, he was presented to the living of Barstow near Blechingly, in Surrey. Of

the manner in which he obtained this preferment, the following account is given by Mr. Roger North : “ Sir Jonas Moore once invited the Lord Keeper North to dine with him at the Tower ; and, after dinner, presented Mr. Flamsteed. His Lordship received him with much familiarity, and encouraged him to come and see him often, that he might have the pleasure of his conversation. The star-gazer was not wanting to himself in that : and his Lordship was extremely delighted with his accounts and observations about the planets, especially those attendant on Jupiter ; showing how the eclipses of them, being regular and calculable, might rectify the longitude of places upon the globe, and demonstrating that light did not pass instantaneously but in time, with other remarkables in the heavens. These discourses always regaled his Lordship ; and a good benefice falling void, not far from the Observatory, in the gift of the Great Seal, his Lordship gave it to Mr. Flamsteed ; which set him at ease in his fortunes, and encouraged his future labours from which great things were expected ; as applying the Jovial Observations to marine uses, for finding longitudes at sea, and to correct the globes, celestial and terrestrial, which were very faulty. And in order to the first, he had composed tables of the eclipses of the satellites, which showed when they were to happen, one after another ; and of these, finely painted upon neat board, he made a present to his Lordship. And he had advanced his other design of rectifying maps, by having provided large blank globes, on which he might inscribe his places corrected. But plenty and pains seldom dwell together ; for as one enters, the other gives way : and, in this instance, a good living, pensions, &c. spoiled a good

cosmographer and astronomer : so very little is left of Mr. Flamsteed's sedulous and judicious applications that way."

Here, in justice to Mr. Flamsteed, it should be observed, that there appears no just ground for this caustic reflexion. His astronomical inquiries might not invariably produce all the consequences, which were expected ; but nothing of this kind seems to have arisen from want of application in the observer. The *Philosophical Transactions*, indeed, afford ample evidence of his activity and diligence, as well as of his penetration and exactness, in astronomical studies, after he had obtained the above preferments, the only ones ever conferred upon him.

In December 1719, he was seized with a strangury, which carried him off on the last day of that month. He left a widow behind him, but no children. He had spent a great part of his life in the pursuit of knowledge, and his uncommon merit as an astronomer was acknowledged by the ablest of his contemporaries : particularly at home by Dr. Wallis, Dr. Halley, and Sir Isaac Newton ; and, among foreigners, by the celebrated Cassini.

His '*Historia Cælestis Britannica*' was published in 1725, in three volumes folio by his widow, and dedicated to the King. Great part of this work had been printed off before his death, and the rest, with the exception of the Prolegomena prefixed to the third volume, was left ready for the press.

Mr. Flamsteed, as Dr. Keill observes, " with indefatigable pains for more than forty years watched the motions of the stars, and has given us innumerable observations of the sun, moon, and planets, which he made with very large instruments exactly

divided by most exquisite art, and fitted with telescopical sights. Whence we are to rely more upon the observations he has made, than on those that went before him, who had made their observations with the naked eye without the assistance of telescopes. The said Mr. Flamsteed has likewise composed the British Catalogue of the Fixed Stars, containing about three thousand (twice the number contained in the catalogue of Hevelius); to each of which he has annexed it's longitude, latitude, right ascension, and distance from the pole, together with the variation of right ascension and declination while the longitude increases a degree. This catalogue, together with most of his observations, is printed on a fine paper and character."



## JOSEPH ADDISON.\*

[1672—1719.]

**J**OSEPH, son of Lancelot Addison Dean of Lichfield, was born at Milston near Ambresbury, in the county of Wilts, of which place his father was then Rector, May 1, 1672; and received the first rudiments of his education under the care of the Rev. Mr. Naish. He was, subsequently, removed to a school at Salisbury, and thence to the Charter House; where, under the tuition of the learned Dr. Ellis, he contracted an intimacy with Mr. (afterward Sir Richard) Steele, which lasted to the end of his life.

At fifteen, being entered of Queen's College, Oxford, in which his father had studied, he applied himself with such diligence to classical learning, that he speedily acquired an elegant Latin stile: and a paper of his verses in that tongue, upon the inauguration of William III. in 1689, accidentally falling into the hands of Dr. Lancaster, he was immediately elected a demy of Magdalen College, where he took his degrees of B. A. and M. A.†

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Tickell's *Life*, prefixed to Addison's Works, quarto 1721; Johnson's and Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*; *General Biographical Dictionary*, and Young's *Conjectures on Original Composition*.

† His rooms are still pointed out to strangers, and a part of the Magdalen-walks still bears his name.

His Latin compositions, indeed,\* in the course of a few years justly gained him in both Universities the character of a poet, before his name was even known in London.

At twenty two appeared his first English publication, a copy of verses addressed to Dryden; which immediately procured him, from the best judges in that nice age, a high reputation. Not long afterward, by a version of the fourth Georgic of Virgil (with the exception of the story of Aristæus) he won the praise of his accomplished contemporary. He wrote, also, the discourse upon the Georgics, which forms the Preface of Dryden's translation, and is allowed to be one of the most correct pieces of criticism in our own or in any other language.

Finding his reputation now established, he obliged the world frequently with poems upon different subjects: among others, he addressed one in 1694 to Mr. H. S., subsequently the famous Dr. Sacheverell; with whom his friendship commenced in college continued,

\* It is not exactly known, at what age he composed some of his Latin poems; but they were, certainly, written very early. They were published in the second volume of '*Musarum Anglicanarum Analecta*,' and are as follows: 1. '*Pax Gulielmi Auspiciis Europæ reddita*, 1697; 2. '*Barometri Descriptio*;' 3. '*Pælium inter Pygmæos et Grues commissum*;' 4. '*Resurrectio delineatu ad Altare Coll. Magd. Oxon*' (being a Description of the Painting over the Altar in Magdalen College, Oxford); 5. '*Sphæristerium*;' 6. '*Ad D. D. Hannes insignissimum Medicum et Poetam, Ode*;' 7. '*Machinæ Gesticulantes*;' and 8. '*Ad insignissimum Virum D. T. Burnellum, Sacræ Theoriæ Telluris Authorem, Ode*;' see the Extracts. These poems have been translated into English by Dr. Sewel, of Peterhouse, Cambridge; and by Newcomb and Amhurst, both of Oxford.

till it was dissolved by their disagreement in political principles.\*

The following year, Addison discovered his rising views in a poem upon one of his Sovereign's campaigns, addressed to the Lord Keeper Sir John Somers : a mark of attachment, which that judicious statesman remunerated by giving him thenceforward, upon all occasions, proofs of his esteem.

He had been importuned, while at the University, to enter into holy orders ; and, probably from respect to his father, he was at one period disposed to comply : but his singular modesty inclining him to doubt his own abilities, he retracted the concession ; and having shown an inclination to travel, obtained from the crown, through the patronage of Somers, an annual pension of 300*l.* at the latter end of 1699.

In 1701, he transmitted from Italy an epistolary poem to Montagu, Lord Halifax.† This was justly admired, as a finished piece of it's kind ; and has, indeed, by some critics been pronounced the greatest of his performances.

Halifax had recently been impeached by the Commons, for having procured exorbitant grants from the crown to his own use ; and was farther charged with cutting down and wasting the timber in his Majesty's forests, and with holding several offices in the Exchequer, which had originally been designed

\* Their first poetical productions were inserted in the '*Examamen Poeticum*' for 1693.

† See the Extracts. A Translation of this poem into Italian verse by the Abbot Antonio Mario Salvini, Greek Professor at Florence, is printed with the original, in Tickell's quarto edition of Mr. Addison's works.

as checks upon each other. The poet's address therefore, at such a moment, furnishes a noble proof of his gratitude.

He returned to England, in 1703. His stay abroad was protracted by the circumstance of his being regarded as a proper person to attend Prince Eugene, then commanding for the Emperor in Italy; an employment, which he would have highly valued: but the death of King William at once put an end to his project, his pension, and his hopes of preferment.

Some time elapsed after his return, his friends being then out of the ministry, before any occasion offered itself to him, either of exertion or of recompence. To accident he was indebted for both.

In 1704, the Lord Treasurer Godolphin complained to Halifax, that the victory of Blenheim had not been celebrated in verse as it deserved; and requested his Lordship, as the known patron of poets, to point out some gentleman capable of writing upon so elevated a subject. Halifax replied, that 'he was, indeed, well acquainted with such a person, but that having long seen with indignation men of no merit maintained in pomp and luxury at the public expense, he did not choose to mention his name.' The Treasurer answered, that 'he was sorry his Lordship had occasion to make such an observation, and for the future would take care to render it's justice more disputable; but that, in the mean time, he would pawn his honour that he, whom he should recommend, might venture upon the theme without fear of losing his time.' Upon this, Halifax named Mr. Addison, but insisted that the Treasurer himself should send to him, which he promised. Accordingly he prevailed upon Mr. Boyle (afterward Lord Carle-

ton) Chancellor of the Exchequer, to communicate to him the business; and the application was made in so obliging a manner, that he readily undertook the task. Godolphin saw the composition, when the poet had proceeded no farther than the simile of the Angel;\* and was so well pleased with it, that he immediately made him a Commissioner of Appeals.

This celebrated poem, addressed to the Duke of Marlborough, is entitled ‘The Campaign,’ and contains a short view of the military transactions in the year 1704, with a minute description of the two great actions at Schellenberg and Blenheim.†

In 1705, Addison published his ‘Travels,’ dedicated to Lord Somers. From want of taste, the performance was at first but indifferently treated; but receiving high commendations from the most eminent literati both at home and abroad, it rose to five times its original price before a second edition could be issued.

In these Travels, his chief objects were to recommend the study of the classics, and to promote the cause of liberty; objects, which he had previously pursued in his Epistle to Lord Halifax. Hence Tickell has judiciously observed, that ‘the prose-work may be considered as a copious commentary upon the verse.’

\* And yet upon the subject of this simile, for which see the Life of the Duke of Marlborough, it is recorded that Dr. Madden said, “If I had set ten schoolboys to write on the battle of Blenheim, and eight had brought me the Angel, I should not have been surprised.”

† Several other eminent writers employed their pens on the same subject; particularly Mr. J. Philips, and Mr. Eusden, subsequently Poet Laureat. Addison’s, however, was far the most admired.

The same year, he attended Halifax to Hanover; and, in the year following, was appointed as Under Secretary of State to Sir Charles Hedges; in which office he was continued by the succeeding Secretary, the Earl of Sunderland.

Operas being at this time much in vogue, many persons of taste and distinction importuned Mr. Addison to make a trial, whether sense and sound were really so incompatible, as by some of the admirers of the Italian pieces they were represented. In compliance with their reiterated requests, he composed his 'Rosamond.' It did not, however, by it's success on the stage justify the hopes, by which it had been suggested.\*

About the same time, he assisted Steele in his play called 'The Tender Husband,' to which he

\* From 'Rosamond,' says Sir John Hawkins, the town had for a considerable time conceived a longing expectation, as well from the character of Addison, as the supposed abilities of the musical composer (Clayton). A criticism on this wretched performance is more than it deserves; but, to account for the bad reception it met with, it is necessary to mention, that the music preponderating against the elegance and humour of the poetry, and the reputation of it's author, bore it down the third night of representation. An ingenious and sensible writer pronounces it 'a confused chaos of music,' and says it's only merit is it's shortness. The sparrows in the opera of Rinaldo, and the lion in Hydaspes, gave occasion to some of the most diverting papers in 'The Spectator;' to papers, in which the humour is so strong and poignant, that Mr. Pope on reading them laughed till his sides shook. Mr. Addison perhaps, from the bad success of his Rosamond, was led to think that only nonsense was fit to be set to music; and this error is farther to be accounted for by that want of taste (not to say, of skill) in music, which he manifests in his preference of the French to the Italian composers, and in his general sentiments of music and musicians, in which he is ever wrong!

wrote a humorous prologue. Sir Richard, whose gratitude was as warm as his wit, surprised him with a dedication, which may be considered as one of the few monuments of the kind not unworthy of it's subject.

In 1709, the Marquis of Wharton, being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, carried Addison with him thither as his Secretary. Her Majesty also, as a mark of her peculiar favour, augmented the salary annexed to the place of Keeper of the Records in that kingdom, and bestowed it upon him.

While he was in Ireland, the 'Tatler' made it's appearance. Addison detected the author by an observation on Virgil, which had originally been imparted to Steele by himself. This discovery led him to farther communications;\* so that, as Steele well remarked, he fared 'like a distressed prince who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid, that is, he was undone by his auxiliary.'

On the termination of the 'Tatler' in concert with his great ally he formed the project of the 'Spectator,'†

\* Upon the change in the ministry, Addison engaged more extensively in this publication, until it's conclusion in 1711. His papers however not being distinguished by any mark, Steele at the request of Tickell pointed them out, showing him likewise such as they were jointly concerned in: and these, as well as his own, are printed in the second volume of Addison's Works.

† In these volumes, the character of Sir Roger de Coverley was Addison's particular favourite. He was so tender indeed of his fame, we are told, that he went to Steele on his engaging the Knight in an intrigue, and would not part with him, until he had promised to meddle with his character no more. Nay, at last, to prevent any absurdities into which the authors of subsequent 'Spectators' might fall, he resolved to remove him wholly

of which the first number appeared March 1, 1711. In the course of this celebrated publication, Addison furnished a considerable part of the best papers, distinguished throughout by one of the letters in the name of the muse CLIO. The work closed September 6, 1712.

In 1713 and 1714 the 'Guardian,' a paper written in the same taste and spirit, entertained the town. In this, too, Addison took a large share, and his papers were particularly admired: he, also, contributed once or twice to the 'Lover,' another periodical paper. In 1713, his celebrated tragedy of 'Cato' appeared.

The design of writing a tragedy on that subject he had conceived in early life; and he actually composed a considerable portion of it, while he was on his travels. This he retouched upon his return to England, without any fixed purpose of bringing it on the stage: but, some friends of his apprehending that it might be advantageous to the cause of liberty, he prepared it for the theatre by adding the greatest part of the last act.

It's reception was most honourable. All parties applauded it; it ran thirty five nights without interruption; and, what was more to the author's reputation, the best judges declared in it's favour in the closet, with the same enthusiasm with which it had been hailed by the pit. The Prologue was written by Pope,\* and the Epilogue by Garth; and it was

out of the way; or, as he pleasantly expressed himself to an intimate friend, to "kill Sir Roger, that nobody else might murder him."

\* The Editor takes the liberty of subjoining his own version of this composition in Latin iambics, executed as a college-exer-



recommended by many prefatory copies of verses ;

cise for a friend : the original will easily be referred to, in the Works of Pope.

### PROLOGUS.

*Ut sensus tragicâ excitaret arte,  
Mores fingeret, ingenique venam  
Ditarct ; foret unde, quod videbat,  
Humanum genus, atque ritè scenas  
Virtus conscia permearet omnes ;—  
Primum sustinuit gravi cothurno  
Suras Melpomene indui, et cicer  
Cunctorum lacrymas : truncem tyrannus  
Adspectum posuit, genasque furtim  
Non suo obstupuit madere fletu.*

*Vulgari refugit Poeta plectro  
Heröum canere arma (quippe tristis  
Vices Ambitio suas meretur)  
Imbelli neque plorat usque questu  
Amores juvenumque virginumque.  
Hic fons nobilior : CATO ipse quales  
Fudit pro patriâ ruente, Noster  
Educit lacrymas ; furore prisco  
Accenditque animos, genamque guttis  
Romanis docet imbui Britannam,  
Virtus scilicet hîc videnda formâ  
Humanâ ! Hic Plato mente quod creavit,  
CATO quod fuit ! En, quod ipse cœli  
Rex spectaculum amaverit, procellis  
Luctantem patriæ virum ; cadentemque,  
Hæc cum concideret ! Suis CATONEM  
Dantem jura, quis haud amore flagrat,  
Ut vidit, patriæ ? Quis haud agenti  
Plaudit ? Quis simul et mori, gementem  
Quicumque audiit, haud avert ? Triumphat  
Dum Cæsar spolia inter, atque victos  
Ostentat populo duces (superbæ  
Hæc mentis nimium, impotensque fastûs !)  
Turba ut fortè sui CATONIS ire  
Cernunt effigiem, dies tenebris*

among which, the names of Steele and of Eusden deserve to be distinguished.\*

*Visa horrescere, publicisque pompa  
Deferi lacrymis. Canente nullâ  
Iô voce Triumphe, victor orbis  
Solutum secum orat : ultimum suorum  
Mavult Roma dolere ; Cæsarique.  
Minor gloria quam fuit CATONI.*

*Hunc tu foveris : Hic tuos, Britannii  
Quisquis nomine gaudeas, moveto  
Plausus. Non potuit CATO ille Major  
Urbem ferre scientiâ inquinatam  
Græcâ ; Gallica nos satis theatra,  
Fractæque Italico ore cantilenæ  
Ceperunt ; sapiat sibi, atque scena  
Æstu jam patrio fremat. Britannis  
Isthæc fabula convenit, severus  
Quam non ipse CATO audiens ruberet.*

\* By M. Boyer it was immediately, though very indifferently, translated into French. The Abbé du Bos, also, made an excellent version of it ; of which, however, only the three first scenes were printed. An Italian translation, by Salvini, was acted at Leghorn with great applause, and subsequently published at Florence. Whether the version by Signor Valetta, a young Neapolitan nobleman, was ever given to the world or not, is unknown. The Jesuits at St. Omer's converted it into Latin, and caused it to be performed by their pupils with great splendor. They, likewise, sent Mr. Addison a copy of their translation.

The following translation of the Soliloquy—‘ It must be so,’ &c. which opens the fifth act, inserted in the ‘ Spectator,’ No. 628, as a composition for “ conciseness, purity, and elegance of phrase never to be sufficiently admired,” was made, according to Mr. Nichols, not by Atterbury (though once ascribed to his pen), but by Bland, successively Master and Provost of Eton, and Dean of Durham.

#### ACT V. SCENE I.

Cato solus, &c.

*Sic, sic, se habere rem necesse prorsus est :  
Ratione vincis ; do lubens manus, Plato.*

Queen Anne was not the last in doing justice to the author and his performance. She was pleased to

*Quid enim dedisset, quæ dedit frustra nihil,  
 Æternitatis insitam cupidinem  
 Natura? Quorsùm hæc dulcis expectatio,  
 Vitæque non explenda melioris sitis?  
 Quid vult sibi aliud iste redeundi in nihil  
 Horror, sub imis quemque agens præcordiis?  
 Cur territa in se refugit anima; cur tremit  
 Attonita, quoties morte ne pereat timet?  
 Particula nempe est cuique nascenti indita  
 Divinior, quæ corpus incolens agit,  
 Hominique succinit, 'Tua est æternitas.'  
 Æternitas! O lubricum nimis aspici,  
 Mixtumque dulci gaudium formidine!*

*Quæ demigrabitur alia hinc in corpora?  
 Quæ terra mox incognita, quis orbis novus  
 Manet incolendus? Quanta erit mutatio?  
 Hæc intuenti spatia mihi quaquà patent  
 Immensa: sed caliginosa nox premit,  
 Nec luce clarâ vult videri singula.  
 Figendus hinc pes; certa sunt hæc hætenus:  
 Si quod gubernet numen humanum genus  
 (At, quod gubernet, esse clamant omnia)  
 Virtute non gaudere certè non potest;  
 Nec esse non beata, quâ gaudet, potest.  
 Sed quâ beata in sede, quove tempore?  
 Hæc quanta quanta terra tota est Cæsaris.  
 Quid dubius hæret animus usque adeò? Brevi  
 Hic nodum, hic omnem expedit. Arma en induor,  
 [Ensi manum admoventes.*

*In utramque partem facta; quæque vim inferant,  
 Et quæ propulsent! Dextera intentat necem,  
 Vltim sinistra: vulnus hæc dabit manus,  
 Altera medelam vulneris: hic ad exitum  
 Deduct ictu simplici, hæc vetant mori.  
 Secura ridet anima mucronis minas,  
 Ensesque strictos, interire nescia.  
 Extinguet ætas sidera diuturnior:  
 Ætate languens ipse sol obscurior*

signify an inclination of having it dedicated to her; but as he had proposed to inscribe it elsewhere, in order to avoid offending either his duty or his honour, he published it without any dedication at all. If in the subsequent part of his life his leisure had been greater, we are told he would have composed another tragedy, entitled, ‘The Death of Socrates.’ But the honours bestowed upon him, for what he had already written, deprived posterity of this projected labour. He had, likewise, formed the design of compiling an English Dictionary, on the plan of that drawn up in Italian by the Academy Della Crusca; but being on the death of the Queen appointed Secretary to the Lords Justices, regents of the kingdom till the arrival of George I., he laid aside his intention. The new Sovereign had some intention of again making him Secretary of State; but he preferred accepting a second time (under the Earl of Sunderland) the secretaryship to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. This office, however, he held but for a very short period; for, on Sunderland’s removal, he was made one of the Lords of Trade.

In 1715, on the first breaking out of the rebellion,

*Emittet orbi consenescenti jubar :*  
*Natura et ipsa sentiet quondam vices*  
*Ætatis ; annis ipsa deficiet gravis :*  
*At tibi juvenus, at tibi immortalitas,*  
*Tibi parva divùm est vita. Periment mutuis*  
*Elementa sese, et interibunt, ictibus.*  
*Tu permanebis sola semper integra,*  
*Tu cuncta rerum quassa, cuncta naufraga,*  
*Jam portu in ipso tuto contemplabere.*  
*Compage ruptâ corruent in se invicem,*  
*Orbesque fractis ingerentur orbibus :*  
*Illæsa tu sedebis extra fragmina.*

he published the 'Freeholder,'\* which is a kind of political Spectator.

These papers Addison wrote out of a desire to remove prejudices, and from a strong inclination to support the government. The Secretaryship of State therefore, to which he was appointed in 1717, was but a proper recompence for a service, which more than balanced the deficiency (objected by himself against his own preferment) that he was no speaker in the House of Commons.

His health, which had been previously impaired by an asthmatic disorder, suffered exceedingly from this honourable but very fatiguing advancement. He bore it however with great patience, till suspecting that it might be prejudicial to the public business, he obtained permission to resign. Having thus procured for himself a relief from the toils and anxieties of political life, he speedily grew better, and his friends were encouraged to hope that his health would have been thoroughly re-established.

In his leisure-moments he applied himself to a work on the 'Evidences of Christianity,' of which the first part, though unfinished, is printed in his works. He, likewise, intended to have paraphrased

\* 'The Freeholder' is particularly mentioned, because it was a work written exclusively by Addison, and upon his own plan. Some indeed have supposed, that he was assisted in it by Philips. But for this report there seems to be no foundation, as neither Tickell says any thing of it, nor does it appear from the papers themselves that they were composed by different hands; being the most uniform, and generally the most unlike every stile except that of Addison, that can be imagined. He published also, at this time, some Verses to Sir Godfrey Kneller on the King's Picture, and a Poetical Address sent to the Princess of Wales with the Tragedy of Cato.

some of the Psalms of David; but a long and painful relapse intercepted all his designs, and carried him off in June 1719. He died at Holland House near Kensington; leaving behind him an only daughter by the Countess Dowager of Warwick, whom he had married in 1716.\*

After his decease Mr. Tickell, who had his instructions, published his Works in four volumes 4to. This edition contains several pieces hitherto unmentioned. The first in date is, 'The Dissertation upon Medals;' of which the materials, collected in Italy, had been digested in a great measure into order at Vienna in the year 1702.

In November 1707, appeared a pamphlet under the title of, 'The Present State of the War, and the Necessity of an Augmentation considered;' which is now received among his compositions. The spirit indeed with which it is written, it's observations upon the strength and interest of foreign nations, and the comprehensive knowledge displayed in it upon all matters relating to our own, evince it to be the product of no ordinary hand.

The 'Whig Examiner' came out for the first time in September, 1710. Of this, the five papers attributed to Addison are the harshest things he ever wrote; treating Sacheverell, Prior, and many other persons with extreme severity. 'The Examiner' had previously, however, done the same thing on the part of the Tories; and the avowed design of this publication was to make reprisals.

\* In a MS. Letter of Dr. Cheyne to Lord Harley, dated August 9, we are informed, "Lady Warwick's marriage with Mr. Addison is upon terms; he giving 4000*l.* in lieu of some estate, which she loses for his sake."

In 1713, a small and bitter pamphlet, entitled 'The late Trial and Conviction of Count Tariff, was published to expose the Tory ministry, on the subject of the French Commerce Bill. These are all, that were included in Mr. Tickell's edition; no notice being taken in it of the 'Drummer, or the Haunted House,' a comedy subsequently published as Addison's by Sir Richard Steele.\*

Prior to the appearance of Pope's Iliad, in 1715, the translator had a quarrel with Addison, upon the grounds of which both were silent. But the feelings of the nation were engaged in tracing the obscure commencement, and it's secret growth: for literature at that time, as it has been remarked, divided with politics the public interest; and Blackstone himself did not refuse to withdraw a while from the severity of his professional labours in order to scrutinise it's causes. Superior then as the statesman was to the bard in age, rank, and fortune, of established literary fame, and high in the list of successful politicians, he could not suppress his ambition of being regarded as a great poet. His agitation, indeed, on the first night of his 'Cato' was such, that it was supposed it's damnation would have sensibly affected his health,

*illæ lacrymæ.* He was jealous of Pope.

the mediation of Steele and Gay, however, prevailed upon to see each other. They

\* To Addison, likewise, the following pieces have been ascribed; '*Dissertatio de insignioribus Romanorum Poetis*;' or, 'A Dissertation upon the most eminent Roman Poets,' supposed to have been written about 1692; and 'A Discourse on Ancient and Modern Learning;' preserved among the manuscripts of Lord Somers, and with them publicly sold after the death of Sir Joseph Jekyl, upon which it found it's way to the press in 1739.

met with cold civility. With wine Addison's reserve began to melt away. Pope then professed his willingness to 'hear his faults.' Addison made a formal speech upon the subject, particularly asserting the superiority of Tickell's first Book of the Iliad, which Pope believed to have proceeded from the pen of the panegyrist himself. From this partial judgement, therefore, he appealed with great vehemence; and they separated with increased hostility.\*

In the latter end of 1718, the Peerage Bill began first to be talked of; and, from the alarm which it inspired, many papers were written with great spirit against it; among the rest, one called the 'Plebeian,' and now known to have been drawn up by Sir Richard Steele. To this, several answers were published; but, of all the pieces circulated in support of the project, none were favourably received. At length came forth the first number of the 'Old Whig,' upon the state of the peerage, containing remarks on the Plebeian; a pamphlet, written with considerable strength and perspicuity. To this the author of the Plebeian replied with much asperity, alleging that 'the work bore a very proper title; the author, if he was a Whig, seeming so old as to have forgotten his principles.'

The second Old Whig was written in support of the first. It is a judicious, and at the same time an extremely animated and humorous production; from the very beginning of which, for the first time during the controversy, it appears that Addison considered Steele as his opponent. He styles him, a "perfect master of the vocation of pamphlet-writing" in one

\* See the Life of Pope.



place; calls him 'Little Dicky' in another; tells him, "he has made the most of a bad cause" in a third; and advises him as a friend, in the close, if he goes on in his new vocation, to "take care that he be as happy in the choice of his subject, as he is in the talents of a pamphleteer."

The fourth Plebeian, containing an answer to the second Old Whig, exceeds in virulence the rest of the papers. Its conclusion, in particular, is remarkable: "Authors," he remarks, "in these cases are named upon suspicion; and if it is right as to the Old Whig, I leave the world to judge of this cause by comparison of this performance with his other writings; and I shall say no more of what is written in support of vassalage, but end this paper by firing every free breast with that noble exhortation of the tragedian,

'Remember, O! my friends,' &c.

(Addison's *Cato*.)

This may suffice to show Sir Richard's conjecture; nor has any one questioned its accuracy. The Peerage Bill went off, notwithstanding, for that session; and Addison died before it came on again.\*

Of the manner of his death, some account has been given by Dr. Young. After a long and manly struggle with his distemper, he dismissed his physicians, and with them all hopes of life. When his hopes of life, however, he dismissed not his concern for the living. He sent for the young Earl of War-

\* It may not, however, be amiss to observe, that in December 1719, on a motion in the House of Commons for its commitment, it was carried in the negative by 269 against 172.

wick, the issue of his lady by a former husband, who immediately obeyed the summons. After a decent and proper pause, his Lordship said, "Dear Sir, you sent for me: I believe and hope that you have some commands; I shall hold them most sacred." Forcibly grasping his noble step-son's hand, Mr. Addison softly replied, "See in what peace a Christian can die!" He spoke with great difficulty, and soon afterward expired.

"His works, in Latin and English poetry," remarks Mr. Gay, "long since convinced the world that he was the greatest master in Europe of these two languages:" and Felton pronounces him 'a perfect pattern of true poetic writing.' "He is more laboured than Prior: like his great master Virgil, he hath weighed every word; nor is there any expression in all his lines, that can be changed for any juster or more forcible than itself."

Dr. Johnson observes of him, that "if any judgment be made from his books or his moral character, nothing will be found but purity and excellence. Knowledge of mankind indeed, less extensive than that of Addison, will show, that to write and to live are very different. Many, who praise virtue, do no more than praise it. Yet it is reasonable to believe, that Addison's professions and practice were "at no great variance; since, amidst that storm of faction in which most of his life was passed, though his station made him conspicuous and his activity made him formidable, the character given him by his friends was never contradicted by his enemies. Of those, with whom interest or opinion united him, he had not only the esteem, but the kindness; and of others, whom the

violence of opposition drove against him, though he might lose the love, he retained the reverence.

It is justly observed by Tickell, that ‘he employed wit on the side of virtue and religion.’ He not only made the proper use of wit himself, but he taught it to others; and from his time it has been, generally, subservient to the cause of reason and of truth. He has dissipated the prejudice, that had long connected gayety with wit, and easiness of manners with laxity of principles. He has restored virtue to it’s dignity, and taught innocence not to be ashamed. This is an elevation of literary character,

‘Above all Greek, above all Roman fame.’

No greater felicity can genius attain, than that of having purified intellectual pleasure, separated mirth from indecency, and wit from licentiousness; of having taught a succession of writers to bring elegance and gayety to the aid of goodness; and, if I may use expressions yet more awful, of having *turned many* *ighteousness.*”

#### EXTRACTS.

‘*Freholder*,’ No. 54.

‘THE general division of the British nation is into Whigs and Tories, there being very few if any who stand neuters in the dispute, without ranging themselves under one of these denominations. One would therefore be apt to think, that every member of the community, who embraces with this vehemence the principles of either of these parties, had thoroughly

sifted and examined them, and was secretly convinced of their preference to those of that party which he rejects. And yet it is certain that most of our fellow-subjects are guided in this particular, either by the prejudice of education, private interest, personal friendships, or a deference to the judgement of those, who perhaps in their own hearts disapprove the opinions which they industriously spread among the multitude. Nay, there is nothing more undoubtedly true, than that great numbers of one side concur in reality with the notions of those whom they oppose, were they able to explain their implicit sentiments, and to tell their own meaning.

‘ However, as it becomes every reasonable man to examine those principles by which he acts, I shall in this paper select some considerations, out of many that might be insisted on, to show the preference of what is generally called the Whig Scheme to that which is espoused by the Tories.

‘ This will appear, in the first place, if we reflect upon the tendency of their respective principles, supposing them carried to their utmost extremity. For if, in this case, the worst consequences of the one are ~~more~~ eligible than the worst consequences of the other, it is a plain argument that those principles are the ~~most~~ eligible of the two, whose effects are the least pernicious. Now the tendency of these two different sets of principles, as they are charged upon each party by it's antagonists, is as follows: The Tories tell us, ~~that~~ the Whig scheme would end in Presbyterianism and a Commonwealth. The Whigs tell us, on the other side, that the Tory scheme would terminate in Popery and Arbitrary Government. Were these reproaches mutually true, which would be most prefer-

able to any man of common sense, *Presbyterianism* and a Republican form of Government, or Popery and Tyranny? Both extremes are indeed dreadful, but not equally so; both to be regarded with the utmost aversion by the friends of our constitution, and lovers of our country: but if one of them were inevitable, who would not rather choose to live under a state of excessive liberty, than of slavery, and not prefer a religion that differs from our own in the circumstantial, before one that differs from it in the essentials of Christianity.

‘ Secondly, let us look into the history of England, and see under which of these two schemes the nation hath enjoyed most honour and prosperity. If we observe the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. (which an impudent Frenchman calls ‘ the reigns of King Elizabeth and Queen James ’) we find the Whig scheme took place under the first, and the Tory scheme under the latter. The first, in whom the Whigs have always gloried, opposed and humbled the most powerful among the Roman Catholic Princes, raised and supported the Dutch, assisted the French Protestants, and made the Reformed Religion an over-balance for Popery through all Europe. On the contrary, her successor aggrandised the Catholic King, alienated himself from the Dutch, suffered the French power to increase till it was too late to remedy it, and abandoned the interests of the King of Bohemia, grandfather to his present Majesty, which might have spread the Reformed Religion through all Germany. I need not describe to the reader the different state of the kingdom, as to its reputation, trade, and wealth, under these two reigns. We might, after this, compare the figure in which these

kingdoms, and the whole Protestant interest of Europe, were placed by the conduct of King Charles II. and that of King William; and every one knows, which of the schemes prevailed in each of those reigns. I shall not impute to any Tory scheme the administration of King James II. on condition that they do not reproach the Whigs with the usurpation of Oliver; as being satisfied that the principles of those governments are respectively disclaimed, and abhorred, by all the men of sense and virtue in both parties, as they now stand. But we have a fresh instance, which will be remembered with grief by the present age and all our posterity, of the influence both of Whig and Tory principles in the late reign. Was England ever so glorious in the eyes of Europe, as in that part of it when the first prevailed; or was it ever more contemptible, than when the last took place?

‘ I shall add, under this head, the preference of the Whig scheme, with regard to foreigners. All the Protestant states of Europe, who may be considered as neutral judges between both parties, and are well-wishers to us in general as to a Protestant people, rejoice upon the success of a Whig scheme; whilst all of the Church of Rome, who condemn, hate, and detest us as the great bulwark of heresy, are as much pleased when the opposite party triumphs in its turn. And, here, let any impartial man put this question to his own heart; Whether that party doth not act reasonably, who look upon the Dutch as their genuine friends and allies: considering that they are of the Reformed Religion, that they have assisted us in the greatest times of necessity, and that they can never entertain a thought of reducing us under their power?

Or, on the other hand, let him consider, Whether that party acts with more reason, who are the avowed friends of a nation that are of the Roman Catholic Religion, that have cruelly persecuted our brethren of the Reformation, that have made attempts in all ages to conquer this island, and supported the interest of that Prince who abdicated the throne, and had endeavoured to subvert our civil and religious liberties.

‘ Thirdly, let us compare these two schemes from the effects they produce among ourselves within our own island ; and these we may consider, first with regard to the King, and secondly with regard to the People.

‘ 1. With regard to the King : The Whigs have always professed and practised an obedience, which they conceive agreeable to the constitution : whereas the Tories have concurred with the Whigs in their practice, though they differ from them in their professions ; and have avowed a principle of passive obedience, to the temptation, and afterward to the destruction, of those who have relied upon it. Nor must I here omit to take notice of that firm and zealous adherence, which the Whig party have shown to the Protestant Succession, and to the cause of his present Majesty. I have never heard of any in this principle, who was either guilty or suspected of measures to defeat this establishment, or to overturn it since it has taken effect ; a consideration which, it is hoped, may put to silence those who upbraid the Whig schemes of government with an inclination to a Commonwealth, or a disaffection to Kings.

‘ 2. With regard to the People : Every one must own, that those laws, which have most conduced to the ease and happiness of the subject, have always passed in

those parliaments which their enemies branded with the name of Whig, and during the time of a Whig ministry. And, what is very remarkable, the Tories are now forced to have recourse to those laws for shelter and protection; by which they tacitly do honour to the Whig scheme, and own it more accommodated to the happiness of the people than that which they espouse.

‘ I hope I need not qualify these remarks with a supposition, which I have gone upon through the whole course of my papers, that I am far from considering a great part of those, who call themselves Tories, as enemies to the present establishment; and that by the Whigs I always mean those, who are friends to our constitution both in Church and State. As we may look upon these to be, in the main, true lovers of their religion and country, they seem rather to be divided by accidental friendships and circumstances, than by any essential distinction.’

*To Lord Halifax.*

‘ WHILE you, my Lord, the rural shades admire,  
And from Britannia’s public posts retire ;  
Nor longer, her ungrateful sons to please,  
For their advantage sacrifice your ease :  
Me into foreign realms my fate conveys,  
Through nations fruitful of immortal lays,  
Where the soft season and inviting clime  
Conspire to trouble your repose with rhyme.  
For wheresoe’er I turn my ravish’d eyes,  
Gay gilded scenes and shining prospects rise,  
Poetic fields encompass me around,  
And still I seem to tread on classic ground ;  
For here the Muse so oft her harp has strung,  
That not a mountain rears it’s head unsung,



Renown'd in verse each shady thicket grows,  
And every stream in heavenly numbers flows.

How am I pleas'd to search the hills and woods  
For rising springs and celebrated floods;  
To view the Nar, tumultuous in his course,  
And trace the smooth Clitumnus to his source;  
To see the Mincio draw his watery store  
Through the long windings of a fruitful shore,  
And hoary Albula's infected tide  
O'er the warm bed of smoking sulphur glide.

Fired with a thousand raptures, I survey  
Eridanus through flowery meadows stray,  
The king of floods! that rolling o'er the plains  
The towering Alps of half their moisture drains,  
And proudly swoln with a whole winter's snows,  
Distributes wealth and plenty where he flows!  
Sometimes, misguided by the tuneful throng,  
I look for streams immortalised in song,  
That lost in silence and oblivion lie  
(Dumb are their fountains, and their channels dry)  
Yet run for ever by the Muse's skill,  
And in the smooth description murmur still.

Sometimes to gentle Tiber I retire,  
And the famed river's empty shores admire,  
That destitute of strength derives it's course  
From thirsty urns and an unfruitful source;  
Yet, sung so often in poetic lays,  
With scorn the Danube and the Nile surveys—  
So high the deathless Muse exalts her theme!  
Such was the Boyne, a poor inglorious stream,  
That in Hibernian vales obscurely stray'd,  
And unobserved in wild meanders play'd;  
'Till by your lines and Nassau's sword renown'd,  
It's rising billows through the world resound,  
Where'er the hero's godlike acts can pierce,  
Or where the fame of an immortal verse.  
Oh, could the Muse my ravish'd breast inspire  
With warmth like yours, and raise an equal fire,  
Unnumber'd beauties in my verse should shine,  
And Virgil's Italy should yield to mine!  
See how the golden groves around me smile,  
That shun the coast of Britain's stormy isle;

Or, when transplanted and preserved with care,  
 Curse the cold clime, and starve in northern air.  
 Here kindly warmth their mountain-juice ferments  
 To nobler tastes, and more exalted scents:  
 Even the rough rocks with tender myrtle bloom,  
 And trodden weeds send out a rich perfume.  
 Bear me some God to Baia's gentle seats,  
 Or cover me in Umbria's green retreats:  
 Where western gales eternally reside,  
 And all the seasons lavish all their pride;  
 Blossoms, and fruits, and flowers together rise,  
 And the whole year in gay confusion lies.  
 Immortal glories in my mind revive,  
 And in my soul a thousand passions strive,  
 When Rome's exalted beauties I descry  
 Magnificent in piles of ruin lie.  
 An amphitheatre's amazing height  
 Here fills my eye with terror and delight;  
 That on it's public shows unpeopled Rome,  
 And held, uncrowded, nations in it's womb:  
 Here pillars rough with sculpture pierce the skies,  
 And here the proud triumphal arches rise,  
 Where the old Romans' deathless acts display'd  
 Their base degenerate progeny upbraid;  
 While rivers here forsake the fields below,  
 And wondering at their height through airy channels flow.

Still to new scenes my wandering Muse retires,  
 And the dumb show of breathing rocks admires;  
 Where the smooth chisel all it's force has shown,  
 And soften'd into flesh the rugged stone.  
 In solemn silence a majestic band,  
 Heroes, and Gods and Roman Consuls stand,  
 Stern Tyrants, whom their cruelties renown,  
 And Emperors in Parian marble frown;  
 While the bright dames, to whom they humbly sued,  
 Still show the charms that their proud hearts subdued.

Fain would I Raphael's godlike art rehearse,  
 And show the immortal labours in my verse,  
 Where from the mingled strength of shade and light  
 A new creation rises to my sight;  
 Such heavenly figures from his pencil flow,  
 So warm with life his blended colours glow:

From theme to theme with secret pleasure tost,  
Amidst the soft variety I'm lost.

Here pleasing airs my ravish'd soul confound,  
With circling notes and labyrinths of sound,  
Here domes and temples rise in distant views,  
And opening palaces invite my Muse.

How has kind Heaven adorn'd the happy land,  
And scatter'd blessings with a wasteful hand !  
But what avail her unexhausted stores,  
Her blooming mountains, and her sunny shores,  
With all the gifts that heaven and earth impart,  
The smiles of nature, and the charms of art ;  
While proud Oppression in her valleys reigns,  
And Tyranny usurps her happy plains ?  
The poor inhabitant beholds in vain  
The reddening orange, and the swelling grain :  
Joyless he sees the growing oils and wines,  
And in the myrtle's fragrant shade repines ;  
Starves, in the midst of nature's bounty curst,  
And in the loaden vineyard dies for thirst.

Oh Liberty, thou goddess heavenly bright,  
Profuse of bliss, and pregnant with delight !  
Eternal pleasures in thy presence reign,  
And smiling plenty leads thy wanton train :  
Eased of her load, Subjection grows more light,  
And Poverty looks cheerful in thy sight ;  
'Thou makest the gloomy face of nature gay,  
Givest beauty to the sun and pleasure to the day.

Thee, Goddess, thee Britannia's isle adores ;  
How has she oft exhausted all her stores,  
How oft in fields of death thy presence sought,  
Nor thinks the mighty prize too dearly bought !  
On foreign mountains may the sun refine  
The grape's soft juice, and mellow it to wine,  
With citron groves adorn a distant soil,  
And the fat olive swell with floods of oil :  
We envy not the warmer clime, that lies  
In ten degrees of more indulgent skies,  
Nor at the coarseness of our heaven repine,  
Though o'er our heads the frozen Pleiads shine ;  
'Tis Liberty that crowns Britannia's isle,  
And makes her barren rocks and her bleak moun-

Others with towering piles may please the sight,  
 And in their proud aspiring domes delight ;  
 A nicer touch to the stretch'd canvas give,  
 Or teach their animated rocks to live :  
 'Tis Britain's care to watch o'er Europe's fate,  
 And hold in balance each contending state,  
 To threaten bold presumptuous kings with war,  
 And answer her afflicted neighbour's prayer.  
 The Dane and Swede, roused up by fierce alarms,  
 Bless the wise conduct of her pious arms :  
 Soon as her fleets appear, their terrors cease,  
 And all the northern world lies hush'd in peace.  
 Th' ambitious Gaul beholds with secret dread  
 Her thunder aim'd at his aspiring head,  
 And fain her godlike sons would disunite  
 By foreign gold, or by domestic spite ;  
 But strives in vain to conquer or divide,  
 Whom Nassau's arms defend and counsels guide.

Fired with the name, which I so oft have found  
 The distant climes and different tongues resound,  
 I bridle-in my struggling Muse with pain,  
 That longs to launch into a bolder strain.

But I've already troubled you too long,  
 Nor dare attempt a more adventurous song.  
 My humble verse demands a softer theme,  
 A painted meadow, or a purling stream ;  
 Unfit for heroes, whom immortal lays,  
 And lines like Virgil's, or like yours, should praise.'

*Ad insignissimum virum*

*D. THO. BURNETTUM,*

*' Sacræ Theoriæ Telluris ' auctorem.*

*Non usitatum carminis alitem,  
 Burnette, poscis, non humiles modos :  
 Vulgare plectrum, languidæque  
 Respuis officium Camænæ.*

*Tu mixta rerum semina conscius  
 Molemque cernis dissociabilem,  
 Terramque concretam, et latentem  
 Oceanum gremio capaci :*

*Dum veritatem quærere pertinax  
 Ignota pandis, sollicitus parùm  
 Utcunque stet commune vulgi  
 Arbitrium et popularis error.  
 Auditur ingens continuò fragor :  
 Illapsa tellus lubrica deserit  
 Fundamina, et compage fractâ  
 Suppositas gravis urget undas.  
 Impulsus erumpit medius liquor,  
 Terras aquarum effusa licentia  
 Claudit vicissim ; has inter orbis  
 Reliquiæ fluitant prioris.  
 Nunc et recluso carcere lucidam  
 Balæna spectat solis imaginem,  
 Stellasque miratur nutantes,  
 Et tremulæ simulacra lunæ.  
 Quæ pompa vocum non imitabilis,  
 Qualis calescit spiritus ingenî ;  
 Ut tollis undas, ut frementem  
 Diluvii reprimis tumultum !  
 Quis tam valenti pectore ferreus,  
 Ut non tremiscens et timido pede  
 Incedat, orbis dum dolosi  
 Detegis instabiles ruinas ?  
 Quin hæc cadentum fragmina montium  
 Natura vultum sumere simplicem  
 Cogit refingens, in priorem  
 Mox iterum reditura formam.  
 Nimbis rubentem sulphureis Jovem  
 Cernas ut udis sævit atrox hyems  
 Incendiis, commune mundo  
 Et populis meditata bustum !  
 Nudus liquentes plorat Athos nives,  
 Et mox liquecens ipse adamantinum  
 Fœdit cacumen, dum per imas  
 Saxa fluunt resoluta valles.  
 Jamque alta cæli mœnia corruunt,  
 Et vestra tandem pagina (proh nefas !)  
 Burnet, vestra augebit ignes,  
 Heu socio peritura mundo !  
 Mox æqua tellus, mox subitus viror  
 Ubique ridet : en teretem globum !*

*En læta vernantes Favonî  
Flamina, perpetuosque flores !  
O pectus ingens ! O animum gravem  
Mundi capacem ! Si bonus auguror,  
Te, nostra quo tellus superbit,  
Accipiet renovata civem.*

## MATTHEW PRIOR.\*

[1664—1721.]

**P**RIOR is generally ranked among the celebrated poets of England; but, as his talents for business introduced him to considerable public employments, he is also politically entitled to a place in this work. He was the son of Mr. George Prior, citizen of London and joiner, and was born in 1664. His father dying when he was young, left him to the care of his uncle, a vintner near Charing Cross; who discharged the trust reposed in him, as Prior himself always gratefully acknowledged, with a tenderness truly paternal.

Part of his education he received under Dr. Busby, at Westminster School, where he acquired a taste, which led him, when he was afterward taken home to his uncle's employment, to prosecute at leisure-hours his study of the classics, and especially of his favourite Horace. Hence, he was speedily noticed by the more enlightened company, who resorted to the Rummer Tavern, Mr. Prior's house. It happened one day, that the Earl of Dorset being there with several gentlemen of rank, the discourse turned upon a passage in Horace's Odes; and, the

\* **AUTHORITY.** Memoirs by Humphrey, prefixed to his Poems, 1733.

party being divided in their sentiments, one of them said, “ I find we are not likely to agree in our criticisms; but, if I am not mistaken, there is a young fellow in the house, who is able to set us all right:” upon which Prior was immediately sent for, and at their request delivered his opinion so highly to their satisfaction, that Dorset determined instantly to remove him to a station more suited to his genius.\* He accordingly sent him to St. John’s College, Cambridge,† where he took his degree of B. A. in 1686, and afterward became a Fellow of the College.

During his residence in the University, he contracted an intimate friendship with Charles Montagu, Esq. of Trinity College, subsequently Earl of Halifax; in conjunction with whom he wrote a humorous piece, entitled ‘The Hind and the Panther, transversed to the story of the Country Mouse and the City Mouse,’ printed in 1687, in answer to Dryden’s ‘Hind and Panther,’ which had been published the year before. This performance was followed by more solid advantages than the mere pleasure of fretting Dryden, who thought it ‘hard, that an old man should be so treated by those to whom he had always been civil;’ for both it’s authors were speedily pre-

\* From one of Prior’s epistles, however, to Fleetwood Sheppard, Esq. it would appear that his earliest benefactor was that gentleman, and that it was probably he who recommended him to Lord Dorset:

‘ Now as you took me up when little,  
Gave me my learning and my vittle,  
Ask’d for me from my Lord things fitting, &c.’

† Here he was recorded by the President, at his admission, as of Winborne in Middlesex; by himself the next day, of Dorsetshire; and five years afterward, when he stood candidate for a fellowship, as of Middlesex: in the last instance, upon oath.



ferred. Montagu obtained the first notice, with some degree of discontent, as it appears, to his poetical confederate :

‘ My friend Charles Montagu’s preferr’d ;  
Nor would I have it long observ’d,  
That one *Mouse* cats, while t’other’s starv’d.’

Prior gave a farther proof of his poetic talent by an ‘ Ode to the Deity,’ written in 1688 as a college-exercise. Upon the Revolution, he was brought to court by Dorset, and through his interest introduced to public employment; being made in 1690 Secretary to the Earl of Berkeley, the English Plenipotentiary at the Congress held at the Hague.

In this station he acquitted himself so well, that his Majesty, desirous to retain him near his person, made him one of the Gentlemen of his Bedchamber. On the death of the Queen, when an emulation of elegy was universal, he brought his tribute of tanelul sorrow among the rest, in an ‘ Ode presented to the King on his Majesty’s arrival in Holland;’ of which the language might be censured as encomiastic, if Mary’s virtues did not justify the most unqualified praise. In 1697, he was appointed Secretary to the Earls of Pembroke and Jersey and Sir Joseph Williamson, Embassadors and Plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Ryswick; and received, from the Lords Justices, a present of two hundred guineas for bringing it over to England. In the same year, he was nominated Principal Secretary of State for Ireland; and, the year following, Secretary to the Earl of Portland, Ambassador at the court of France.

While he was in that kingdom, one of the officers of the royal household, showing him the paintings of Le Brun at Versailles, in which the victories of Louis

XIV. are portrayed, asked him, "Whether King William's actions were to be seen in his palace?" "No, Sir," replied Prior; "the monuments of my master's achievements are to be seen every where but in his own house." In this station he continued, during the two embassies of the Earls of Portland and Jersey.

The next year William sent for him, from England, to a private conference at his palace at Loo in Holland; and, upon his return, he was made Under Secretary in the office of the Earl of Jersey, Secretary for the Northern Provinces. At a subsequent period, he went to Paris, where he had a principal share in negotiating the Partition Treaty.

In 1700, he was created M. A. by *Mandamus*; and appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of trade and plantations, upon the resignation of Mr. Locke. The same year, he published his '*Carmen Seculare*,' the largest and most splendid of his compositions. In praise of King William, says Anderson, he exhausts all his powers of celebration. William, as even Dr. Johnson admits, supplied copious materials for either verse or prose. His whole life had been action, and he possessed the high qualities of steady resolution and personal courage. After defending his own country from foreign invasion, and delivering others from domestic usurpation, he headed a confederacy formed by his wisdom and his vigour against Louis XIV., who wished to reduce England under the arbitrary sway of a tyrant depending on himself, and to subjugate the rest of Europe. By his efforts the French Monarch was stopped in his career, and compelled to acknowledge that man as Chief Magistrate of England, on whom the people

were pleased to confer the office. Ends more noble, or success more glorious than his, cannot well be imagined. He was really in the mind, what he was pronounced in the verses, of the poet. Prior, justly, considered him as a hero; and was accustomed to say, that ‘he praised others in compliance with the fashion, but in celebrating William he followed his inclinations.’

In the parliament, which met in 1701, he was chosen Representative of East Grinstead, in Essex. His election was followed by a change of his politics; for he joined the Tories in voting for the impeachment of Lord Somers and the other Lords charged with having advised the Partition Treaty, in which he himself had been ministerially employed! By thus abandoning the Whigs, with whom he had hitherto avowedly acted upon principle, and to whom he owed his promotion, he incurred a charge of inconsistency, which ingenuity has laboured in vain to repel. But whatever might be the cause of his apostasy, with the ordinary zeal of a convert he stuck at nothing to serve his new friends. So ardent, indeed, was his youthful Toryism, that he did not willingly associate with men of his ancient party.

After the accession of Queen Anne, he exerted his poetical talents in honour of his country, in his ‘Letter to Boileau on the Victory of Blenheim in 1704;’ upon which occasion, he had two rivals in Addison and Philips.

About this period, likewise, he published a volume of poems, introduced by a dedication to Lionel Earl of Dorset and Middlesex. It began with the ‘College-Exercises,’ and ended with ‘Henry and Emma.’ As no prosperous event of that reign passed undig-

nified by poetry, the battle of Ramilies soon afterward excited him to another poetical effort, in the stanza of Spenser, in honour of his country, entitled ‘An Ode on the Glorious Success of her Majesty’s Arms in 1706.’

In 1710, he was supposed to have written some papers in ‘The Examiner;’ particularly, the criticism upon a poem addressed by Dr. Garth to the Earl of Godolphin.\* Godolphin being now defeated by Oxford, and the Tories (long eclipsed by the lustre of Marlborough) beginning again to show their heads, Prior and Garth espoused opposite interests; the first for, and the latter against, the court. The Doctor did not desert his patron in distress: and his verses, addressed to him during the depression of his party, whatever may be their literary character, bear the more honourable stamp of grateful and persevering attachment.

Thus early initiated in public affairs, and involved in their perplexities for many years, that Prior should have found any opportunities of cultivating his poetical talents, is not a little surprising. In the preface to his Poems, he says, that ‘poetry was only the product of his leisure-hours; that he had commonly business enough upon his hands, and (as he modestly adds) ~~that~~ he was only a poet by accident.’†

\* This was answered by Addison, in the ‘Whig Examiner.’ The other contributors to the ‘Examiner’ (stating the grossness of ministerial abuses, the avarice of commanders, the tyranny of favourites, and the general danger of approaching ruin) were King, Swift, and occasionally Mrs. Manley.

† From a Manuscript however left by him, containing an Essay on learning, the following curious passage relating to himself appears to deserve transcription: “I remember nothing farther in life, than that I made verses: I chose Guy Earl of Warwick for my first hero, and killed Colborne the giant, before

By Lord Bolingbroke, who notwithstanding the gross imperfections of his character is allowed to have been an accomplished judge of fine talents, he was always held in the highest esteem. In a letter addressed to him in 1712, while he was resident at the court of France, this nobleman pays him the following compliment: "For God's sake, Matt, hide the nakedness of thy country, and give the best turn thy fertile brain will furnish thee with to the blunders of thy countrymen,\* who are not much better politicians than the French are poets."—"It is near three o'clock in the morning. I have been hard at work all day, and am not yet enough recovered to bear much fatigue; excuse therefore the confusedness of this scroll, which is only from Harry to Matt, and not from the Secretary to the Minister."

Soon afterward, the Duke of Shrewsbury went on a formal embassy to Paris. By Boyer it is said, that 'he refused to be associated with Prior, on account of

I was big enough for Westminster School. But I had two accidents in youth, which hindered me from being quite possessed with the Muse. I was bred in a college, where prose was more in fashion than verse; and as soon as I had taken my first degree, I was sent the King's Secretary to the Hague. There I had enough to do in studying French and Dutch, and altering my Terentian and Virgilian stile into that of articles and conventions: so that poetry, which by the bent of my mind might have become the business of my life, was by the happiness of my education only the amusement of it; and in this too, having the prospect of some little fortune to be made and friendships to be cultivated with the great men, I did not launch much into Satire, which (however agreeable, for the present, to the writers and encouragers of it) does in time do neither of them good—considering the uncertainty of fortune, and the various changes of ministry, and that every man as he resents may punish in his turn of greatness and power."

\* By some mistake of the Queen's orders, the court of France,

the meanness of his birth.' It was not, therefore, till his Grace's return home in the ensuing year, that the latter was enabled to assume the stile and dignity of Ambassador. But, while he continued in appearance a private man, he was treated with great attention by Louis XIV., who pronounced 'his conduct very agreeable to him;' and M. de Torcy placed in him his particular confidence.

Prior is represented, by contemporary writers, as having united the elegance of the courtier with the erudition of the scholar and the fancy of the man of genius. This representation, in general, may be just; yet is it frequently true that they, who have risen from the lower ranks of life, still retain some traces of their humble original. In one particular, this was strikingly verified in Prior. The same woman, who could charm the waiter, still maintained her dominion over the ambassador. His 'Chloe,' it seems, was a butcher's wife, a woman in his own original station; and, in the height of his promotions, he never forsook her!

He<sup>s</sup> was next appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France, to negotiate the peace of Utrecht; and he remained there upon it's conclusion, under the character of British Ambassador (though attended with some perplexities and mortifications\*) from August, 1713, till some months after the accession of George I., when he was superseded by the Earl of Stair. The state of affairs was now

\* He hints to the Queen, in an unfinished poem, that he had no service of plate; and from the debts, which he was compelled to contract, and for some time detained to discharge, we may infer that his remittances were not made with much punctuality.

*greatly changed at home; the peace incurred loud condemnation, and Prior upon his arrival in London*—March 25, 1715, was arrested by a warrant from the House of Commons; shortly after which, he underwent a strict examination before a Committee of the Privy Council. His political friend Lord Bolingbroke, foreseeing a storm, had taken shelter in France.

On the tenth of June, Mr. Walpole moved the House for an impeachment against him on a charge of high treason, for holding clandestine conferences with the French Plenipotentiary; and on the seven-teenth he was ordered into close custody, no person being admitted to see him without leave from the Speaker.\*

In 1717, an Act of Grace was passed in favour of those who had opposed the Hanoverian Succession, as well as of those who had openly rebelled against it; but Mr. Prior was, by name, excepted from its operation.† At the close of the year, however, he was discharged out of custody, and retired from all public employment. On his release, he rejoiced that he had never resigned his fellowship, which in his exaltation he had been censured for retaining, but which he always said ‘he could live upon at last.’ He had too correct a view of political contingency, to expect his party to remain permanently triumphant; and he was still less disposed to anticipate a revenue from his rhymes.

\* For the detail of this procedure of the parliament, against both Prior and several other public functionaries of the preceding reign, the histories of the time must be consulted. During his confinement, to while away his ‘prison-hours,’ he wrote his ‘*Alma*, or the Progress of the Mind.’

† His having anxiously screened Stanley, on his examination, is said to have been the cause of this continued severity.

*The severe usage, which he experienced upon this occasion, probably drew from him the following lines:*

‘ From public noise and factious strife,  
 From all the busy ills of life,  
 Take me, my Chloe, to thy breast,  
 And lull my wearied soul to rest.  
 For ever in this humble cell  
 Let thou and I, my fair one, dwell:  
 None enter else, but Love;—and he  
 Shall **bar** the door, and keep the key.  
 To painted roofs and shining spires,  
 Uneasy seats of high desires,  
 Let the unthinking many crowd,  
 That dare be covetous and proud:  
 In golden bondage let them wait,  
 And barter happiness for state.  
 But oh! my Chloe, when thy swain  
 Desires to see a court again,  
 May Heaven around his destined head  
 The choicest of it’s curses shed!  
 To sum up all the rage of fate  
 In the two things I dread and hate,  
 May’st thou be false, and I be great!’ }

After his long and harassing public exertions, Prior was desirous of spending the remainder of his days in rural tranquillity. He was so happy as to succeed in his wish, having found in the retirement of Downhall, in Essex, (as he expressed himself) ‘ a more solid and innocent satisfaction among the woods and meadows, than he had enjoyed in the hurry and tumults of the world, the courts of princes, or the conducting of foreign negotiations.

‘ The remnant of his days he safely past,  
 Nor found they lagg’d too slow, nor flew too fast;  
 He made his wish with his estate comply,  
 Joyful to live, yet not afraid to die.’

Having finished his ‘ Solomon,’ a poem ‘ on the Vanity of the World,’ his most admired performance,



he published by subscription an edition of all his poems in one volume folio;\* and, some time afterwards, formed a design of writing a ‘History of his own Time:’ but he had made little progress in it, when a lingering fever put a period to his existence. He died September 18, 1721, at Wimpole (then a seat of the Earl of Oxford) near Cambridge, and his remains were interred in Westminster Abbey, where a monument was erected to his memory. †

\* The price of each copy was two guineas, and the whole amount was four thousand: to this Lord Harley, son of the Earl of Oxford (to whom he had, invariably, adhered) added an equal sum for the purchase of Downhall, which Prior was to enjoy during his life and Harley after his decease. Swift obtained many subscriptions for him in England.

† For this purpose he had, as ‘the last piece of human vanity,’ in his life-time set apart 500*l*. The inscription was from the pen of Dr. Robert Friend, Master of Westminster School.

*Sui Temporis Historiam meditantī  
 Pavidatim obrepens Febris  
 Operi simul et vitæ filum abruptit,  
 Sept. 18, An. Dom. 1721, Ætat 57.  
 H. S. E.  
 Vir Eximius  
 Serenissimis  
 Regi GULIELMO, Reginaque MARIAE  
 In Congressione Federatorum  
 Hagæ Anno 1690 celebratâ;  
 Deinde Magnæ Britanniae Legatus,  
 Tum iis  
 Qui anno 1697 Pacem RYSWICKI confecerunt,  
 Tum iis  
 Qui apud Gallos annis proximis Legationem obierunt;  
 Eodem etiam anno (1697) in Hiberniâ  
 SECRETARIUS;  
 Necnon in utroque Honorabili Consessu,  
 Eorum  
 Qui anno 1700 ordinandis Commercii negotiis,*

He holds a high rank in poetry, by the suffrage  
of all men of taste, for the delicacy of his numbers,  
the wittiness of his turns, the acuteness of his re-

*Quique anno 1711 dirigendis Portorii rebus*

*Præsidebant,*

COMMISSIONARIUS ;

*Postremò*

*ab ANNA*

*Felicissimæ memoriæ Reginæ*

*Ad LUDOVICUM XIV. Gallicæ Regem*

*Missus anno 1711*

*De Pace stabiliendâ*

*(Pace etiamnum durante,*

*Diuque, ut boni jam omnes sperant, duraturâ)*

*Cum summâ potestate Legatus——*

MATTHEW'S PRIOR Armiger,

*Qui*

*Hos omnes quibus cumulatus est titulos*

*Humanitatis, Ingenii, Eruditionis laude*

*Superavit :*

*Cui enim nascenti faciles arriserant Musæ,*

*Hunc puerum Schola hic Regia perpoliuit ;*

*Juvenem in Collegio Sti. Johannis*

*Cantabrigia optimis Scientiis instruxit ;*

*Virem denique auxit et perfecit*

*Multa cum viris principibus consuetudo :*

*Ita natus, ita institutus,*

*A ratum choro avelli nunquam potuit ;*

*Sed solebat sæpè rerum civilium gravitatem*

*Amatiorum literarum studiis condire :*

*Et cùm omne adeò pœtices genus*

*Haud infeliciter tentaret,*

*Tum in Fabellis concinnè lepidèque texendis*

*Mirus Artifex*

*Neminem habuit parem.*

*Hæc liberalis animi oblectamenta*

*Quàm nullo ~~illi~~ labore constiterint,*

*Facilè ii perspexêre quibus usus est amici ;*

*Apud quos, urbanitatum et leporum plenus,*

*Cùm ad rem quæcunque fortè inciderrat*

*Aptè variè copiosèque alluderet,*

marks, and (in one of his performances more particularly) for the force of his sentiments. His stile, likewise, is extremely pure; and an air of originality pervades his slightest compositions.

His works, as Dr. Johnson remarks, may be distinctly considered as comprising Tales, Love-Verses, Occasional Poems, ‘*Alma*,’ and ‘*Solomon*.’ Of these the first (comprising only four) have obtained general approbation, being written with great familiarity and great sprightliness; \* in language easy, but not gross, and in numbers smooth, but without the appearance of care. They exhibit, however, that incongruous mixture of light, or rather indecent, expressions with grave and even religious ones, which though so common at the time as perhaps to exclude the charge of immorality, denoted a prevalent deficiency of taste and refinement. In his ‘Love-Verses,’ he is less

*Interca nihil quæsitum, nihil vi expressum*

*Videbatur;*

*Sed omnis ultrò effluere,*

*Et quasi jugi è fonte affluim exuberare :* †

*Ita suos tandem dubios reliquit,*

*Essetne in Scriptis Poeta elegantior, “*

*Au in convictu Comes jucundior.*

\* Of his ‘Thief and Cordelier’ Johnson supplies the original in the following epigram from Georgius Sabinus, once the friend of Luther and Melancthon :

*De Sacerdote Furem consolante.*

*Quidam Sacrificus Furem comitatus euntem*

*Huc ubi dat fontes carnificina mori,*

“*Ne sis mæstus,*” ait : “*Summi conviva Tonantis*

*“ Jam cum cœlitibus (si modò credis) eris.”*

*Ille gemens, “ Si vera mihi solatia præbes,*

*“ Hospes apud Superos sis meus, oro : ” refert.*

*Sacrificus contra ; “ Mihi non convivium fas est*

*Ducere ; jejunis hæc edo luce nihil.”*

happy; for they are not dictated by nature, or by passion. They have the coldness of Cowley without his wit, and abound in mythological fictions which excite no tenderness. But from this censure the dramatic dialogue of 'Henry and Emma' (paraphrased from the 'Nut-browne Mayde') must, notwithstanding the harsh verdict of Johnson, be excepted. His 'Occasional Poems' necessarily lost part of their value, as their occasions being less remembered raised less emotion; but some of them are preserved by their inherent excellence. His paraphrase on St. Paul's Exhortation to Charity,\* in particular, is eminently beautiful. The 'Alma' has many admirers, and was the only piece among his works, of which Pope said that 'he should wish to have been the author.' The 'Solomon' however is the composition to which the author himself entrusted the protection of his name, and which he expected succeeding ages to regard with veneration. But though he had infused into it much knowledge and much thought, had often polished it to elegance, often dignified it with splendor, and sometimes heightened it to sublimity, it unhappily wanted the power of engaging attention and alluring curiosity.

"A survey of the life and writings of Prior may exemplify a sentence, which he doubtless understood well when he read Horace at his uncle's; 'The vessel long retains the scent, which it first receives.' In his private relaxation he revived the tavern, and in his amorous pedantries he exhibited the college; but on higher occasions and nobler subjects, when habit was overpowered by the necessity of reflexion, he wanted not wisdom as a statesman nor elegance as a poet."

After his death, several posthumous poems were ascribed to him: and in 1740 appeared ‘The History of his own Time,’ said to have been printed from his manuscripts; but it is a performance totally unworthy of his pen.

## EXTRACTS.

## CHARITY;

*A Paraphrase on 1 Cor. xiii.*

‘DID sweeter sounds adorn my flowing tongue,  
Than ever man pronounced, or angels sung;  
Had I all knowledge, human and divine,  
That thought can reach, or science can define;  
And had I power to give that knowledge birth,  
In all the speeches of the babbling earth:  
Did Shadrach’s zeal my glowing breast inspire  
To weary tortures, and rejoice in fire;  
Or had I faith like that, which Israel saw,  
When Moses gave them miracles and law:  
Yet, gracious Charity! indulgent guest,  
Were not thy power exerted in my breast,  
Those speeches would send up unheeded prayer,  
That scorn of life would be but wild despair;  
A cymbal’s sound were better than my voice,  
My faith were form, my eloquence were noise.

Charity, decent, modest, easy, kind,  
Softens the high, and rears the abject mind;  
Knows with just reins and gentle hand to guide  
Betwixt vile shame and arbitrary pride:  
Not soon provoked, she easily forgives;  
And much she suffers, as she much believes.  
Soft peace she brings wherever she arrives:  
She builds our quiet as she forms our lives;  
Lays the rough paths of peevish nature even,  
And opens in each heart a little heaven.

Each other gift, which God on man bestows,  
It’s proper bound and due restriction knows;  
To one fix’d purpose dedicates it’s power,  
And finishing it’s act, exists no more.

Thus, in obedience to what Heaven decrees,  
 Knowledge shall fail and Prophecy shall cease;  
 But lasting Charity's more ample sway,  
 Nor bound by time nor subject to decay,  
 In happy triumph shall for ever live,  
 And endless good diffuse and endless praise receive.

As, through the artist's intervening glass  
 Our eye observes the distant planets pass,  
 A little we discover, but allow  
 That more remains unseen than art can show:  
 So, whilst our mind it's knowledge would improve  
 (It's feeble eye intent on things above)  
 High, as we may, we lift our reason up,  
 By faith directed and confirm'd by hope:  
 Yet we are able only to survey  
 Dawning of beams, and promises of day;  
 Heaven's fuller effluence mocks our dazzled sight,  
 Too great it's swiftness, and too strong it's light.

But soon the mediate clouds shall be dispell'd;  
 The sun shall soon be face to face beheld  
 In all his robes, with all his glory on,  
 Seated sublime on his meridian throne.  
 Then constant Faith and holy Hope shall die,  
 One lost in certainty, and one in joy:  
 Whilst thou, more happy power, fair Charity,  
 Triumphant sister greater of the three,  
 Thy office and thy nature still the same,  
 Lasting thy lamp and unconsumed thy flame,  
 Shalt still survive—  
 Shalt stand before the host of heaven confest,  
 For ever blessing, and for ever blest.'

*From the Preface to 'Solomon on the Vanity of  
 the World.'*

'It is hard for a man to speak of himself with any tolerable satisfaction or success. He can be more pleased in blaming himself, than in reading a satire made on him by another: and though he may justly desire that a friend should praise him; yet, if he

makes his own panegyric, he will get very few to read it. It is harder for him to speak of his own writings. An author is in the condition of a culprit: the public are his judges: by allowing too much, and condescending too far, he may injure his own cause, and become a kind of *felo de se*; and, by pleading and asserting too boldly, he may displease the court that sits upon him. His apology may only heighten his accusation. I would avoid these extremes: and though, I grant, it would not be very civil to trouble the reader with a long preface before he enters upon an indifferent poem; I would say something to persuade him to take it as it is, or to excuse it for not being better.

‘The noble images and reflexions, the profound reasonings upon human actions and excellent precepts for the government of life, which are found in the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and other books commonly attributed to Solomon, afford subjects for finer poems in every kind, than have, I think, as yet appeared in the Greek, Latin, or any modern language: how far they were verse in their original, is a dissertation not to be entered into at present.

‘But of this great treasure, which lies heaped up together in a confused magnificence above all order, I had a mind to collect and digest such observations and apophthegms, as most particularly tend to the proof of that great assertion, laid down in the beginning of the Ecclesiastes, “All is vanity.”

‘Upon the subject thus chosen, such various images present themselves to a writer’s mind, that he must find it easier to judge what should be rejected, than what ought to be received. The difficulty lies in drawing and disposing, or (as the painters term it) in grouping, such a multitude of different objects,

preserving still the justice and conformity of stile and colouring, the “*simplex duntaxat et unum*,” which Horace prescribes, as requisite to make the whole picture beautiful and perfect.

‘As precept, however true in theory or useful in practice, would be but dry and tedious in verse, especially if the recital be long, I found it necessary to form some story, and give a kind of body to the poem. Under what species it may be comprehended, whether Didascalie or Heroic, I leave to the judgement of the critics; desiring them to be favourable in their censure, and not solicitous what the poem is called, provided it may be accepted.

‘The chief personage, or character, in the epic is always proportioned to the design of the work, to carry on the narration and the moral. Homer intended to show us, in his ‘Iliad,’ that dissensions among great men obstruct the execution of the noblest enterprises, and tend to the ruin of a state or a kingdom. His Achilles, therefore, is haughty and compassionate, impatient of any restraint by laws, and arrogant in arms. In his ‘Odyssey,’ the same poet endeavours to explain, that the hardest difficulties may be overcome by labour, and our fortune restored after the severest afflictions. Ulysses, therefore, is valiant, virtuous, and patient. Virgil’s design was to tell us how, from a small colony established by the Trojans in Italy, the Roman empire rose; and from what ancient families Augustus, who was his prince and patron, descended. His hero, therefore, was to fight his way to the throne, still distinguished and protected by the favour of the gods. The poet to this end takes off from the vices



of Achilles, and adds to the virtues of Ulysses; from both perfecting a character proper for his work.

‘As Virgil copied after Homer, other epic poets have copied after them both. Tasso’s *Gierusalemme Liberata*’ is directly Troy town sacked; with this difference only, that the two chief characters in Homer, which the Latin poet had joined in one, the Italian has separated in his Godfrey and Rinaldo: but he makes them both carry on his work with very great success. Ronsard’s *Franciade*’ (incomparably good as far as it goes) is again Virgil’s *Æneis*. His hero comes from a foreign country, settles a colony, and lays the foundation of a future empire. I instance these, as the greatest Italian and French poets in the epic. In our language, Spenser has not contented himself with this submissive manner of imitation: he launches out into very flowery paths, which still seem to conduct him into one great road. His ‘Faery Queen,’ (had it been finished, must have ended in the account which every knight was to give of his adventures, and in the accumulated praises of his heroine Gloriana. The whole would have been an heroic poem, but in another cast and figure than any that ever had been written before. Yet it is observable, that every hero (as far as we can judge by the books still remaining) bears his distinguished character, and represents some particular virtue conducive to the whole design.’

JOHN CHURCHILL,  
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.\*

[1650—1724.]

**JOHN CHURCHILL**, who (according to the prediction of the Prince De Vaudemont) lived to attain the highest pitch of glory, to which a subject could be exalted, was the son of Sir Winston Churchill of Dorsetshire. His father had suffered severely during the civil wars for his loyalty to Charles I.; so that he was obliged to live privately with his lady, the daughter of Sir John Drake of Ashe in Devonshire, at whose seat Churchill was born June 24, 1650.

By a clergyman in the neighbourhood he was instructed in the first principles of literature; and he is recorded by Knight, in his ‘Life of Dean Colet,’ among the eminent scholars of St. Paul’s School:†

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Ledyard’s *Life of the Duke of Marlborough*; *Biographia Britannica*; and *Smollett’s History of England*.

† The following Note occurs in p. 483 of the Catalogue of the Library of St. Paul’s, under the article ‘*Vegetius De Re Militari* :’

“From this very book John Churchill scholar of this school, afterward the celebrated Duke of Marlborough, first learned

but his father, upon the Restoration, being appointed to some considerable posts under Charles II., judged it prudent to introduce him early at court, where from his handsome person and graceful behaviour he was at the age of twelve made page of honour to the Duke of York. The continued kindness of his patron was secured by the disgraceful intervention of his sister, the mistress of that Prince. From the Duchess of Cleveland, the favourite of Charles II., he received at a subsequent period a present of 5000*l.*, with which he immediately purchased an annuity for life.

During the first Dutch war, about the year 1666, he was presented with a pair of colours in the guards, and subsequently obtained leave to go to Tangier, then besieged by the Moors; where he for some time cultivated attentively the science of arms, and was personally engaged in several skirmishes with the enemy. Upon his return to England, he appeared constantly at court, and was greatly respected by both the royal brothers.

In 1672, the Duke of Monmouth commanding a body of English auxiliaries in the service of France, Mr. Churchill attended him, and was soon afterward made a Captain of Grenadiers in his Grace's own regiment. He shared in all the actions of that celebrated campaign against the Dutch: and at the siege of Nimeguen, in particular, he so much distinguished himself, that he was noticed by Turenne himself, and

the elements of the art of war; as was told me, George North [of Codicote] on St. Paul's Day 1724-5, by an old clergyman, who said 'he was a contemporary scholar, was then well acquainted with him, and frequently saw him read it.' This I testify to be true. G. NORTH."

received from him the name of ‘the handsome Englishman;’ an appellation, by which he was known in the French army for many years. Another circumstance, while he was upon the same service, rendered this a title of honour; for a French Lieutenant Colonel having deserted a pass upon the approach of a Dutch detachment, Turenne betted a wager, that dangerous as the enterprise was, the ‘Handsomen Englishman would retake it with half the number of men with which the other had lost it—and won.’

The next year, he signalised himself so greatly by his intrepidity at the reduction of Maestricht, that Louis XIV. publicly thanked him for his behaviour at the head of the line, and assured him that ‘he would acquaint his Sovereign with it:’ the Duke of Monmouth likewise, on his return, acknowledged, ‘how much he had been indebted to Churchill’s bravery.’

These honourable testimonies procured for him, from Charles II., the rank of Lieutenant Colonel; and from the Duke of York, the appointment of Gentleman of his Bedchamber, and soon afterward that of Master of the Robes. Obligated to pass his days at court, he behaved with the utmost circumspection in the factious times that ensued. In the beginning of the year 1679, when the Duke was constrained to retire to the Low Countries, Colonel Churchill accompanied him throughout all his peregrinations, till he was again suffered to reside in London. While he was in attendance upon his Grace in Scotland, he had a regiment of dragoons given him; and in 1681 he successfully paid his addresses to Sarah, daughter

of Richard Jennings, Esq. of Sandridge in Hertfordshire, one of the most accomplished ladies of the court, and then in the service of the Princess, afterward Queen Anne.

The first use made by his Royal Highness of his interest, on returning to court, was to obtain a peerage for his favourite, who by letters patent dated December 1, 1682, was created Baron Churchill of Aymouth in Scotland, and appointed Colonel of the third troop of guards.\*

At the commencement of the new reign, he was sent Ambassador to France, to notify the accession of James II.; and in the May following was created a Peer of England, by the title of Baron Churchill, of Sandridge. In June, he was ordered into the west, to suppress the rebellion of Monmouth; and within a month he accomplished his object, having taken the Duke himself prisoner. He quickly discerned, however, the bad effects of this victory upon the royal mind; as it confirmed his Majesty in an opinion, that by means of a standing army the religion and government of England might easily be subverted. How Lord Churchill sanctioned, or opposed, this criminal project, cannot perhaps now be ascertained. He does not, indeed, appear to have been guilty of any mean compliances, or to have had any concern in executing the violences of that unhappy reign: on the contrary, as Bishop Burnet informs us, "he very prudently

\* In this year also, upon a shipwreck suffered by the Duke of York on his passage to Scotland, he received a signal proof of his master's attachment in his solicitude to save him, while a great part of the crew (120 persons, including several persons of quality) were left to perish.

declined meddling much in business, spoke little except when his advice was asked, and then always recommended moderate measures." It is even said, he declared very early to Lord Galway, that 'if his master attempted to overturn the Established Religion, he would leave his service;' and that he signed the Memorial transmitted to the Prince and Princess of Orange, by which they were invited to rescue this nation from popery and slavery. It is certain, however, that he continued in the confidence of James II., after the Prince had landed on the fifth of November,\* 1688; attended him, at the head of a brigade of 5000 men, when he marched against his son-in-law; and though the Earl of Feversham, suspecting his inclinations, advised the King to seize him, was through his Majesty's personal regard left wholly at liberty to go over to the Prince. Of this freedom he availed himself, by joining him at Axminster, but without betraying any post or carrying off any troops.

That he took this step with great concern, appears from the following letter, which he left behind him, addressed to his deserted master :

" SIR,

" Since men are seldom suspected of sincerity,

\* Of this date, as coincident with that of the Gunpowder Plot, and equally with it commemorated in our National Liturgy, Bishop Watson in his 'Apology for the Bible' ingeniously avails himself, to justify the double reason assigned in Scripture for the sanctification of the Sabbath (viz. one, 'that on that day God rested from the work of creation,' Exod. xx. 11; and the other, 'that on that day God had given them rest from the servitude of Egypt,' Deut. v. 15.) which had been criminated by his vulgar and violent adversary, as implying a contradiction.

when they act contrary to their interests; and though my dutiful behaviour to your Majesty in the worst of times, for which I acknowledge my poor services much overpaid, may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your Majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reasonably convince your Majesty and the world that I was actuated by a higher principle, when I offered that violence to my inclination and interest, as to desert your Majesty at a time when your affairs seem to challenge the strictest obedience from all your subjects; much more from one, who lives under the greatest obligations imaginable to your Majesty. This, Sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my conscience, and a necessary concern for my religion, which no good man can oppose, and with which I am instructed nothing ought to come in competition.

“Heaven knows, with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your Majesty has hitherto represented those unhappy designs, which inconsiderate and self-interested men have framed against your Majesty’s true interest and the Protestant Religion; but, as I can no longer join with such to give a pretence by conquest to bring them to effect, so I will always with the hazard of my life and fortune, so much your Majesty’s due, endeavour to preserve your royal person and lawful right with all the tender concern and dutiful respect, that becomes

“Your Majesty’s, &c.”

Lord Churchill was graciously received by the

Prince of Orange: and through his Lordship's solicitations principally, Prince George of Denmark is supposed to have embraced the same party; as his consort, the Princess Anne, did soon afterward, by the advice of Lady Churchill. In this critical conjuncture, he was entrusted by his new employer first to re-assemble his troop of guards in London, and subsequently to reduce some lately-raised regiments and to new-model the army; for which purpose, he received the rank of Lieutenant General.

Lord Churchill was, likewise, one of the Peers, who voted that 'the throne was vacant;' and upon the accession of William and Mary was sworn of their Privy Council, appointed one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to his Majesty, and raised to the dignity of Earl of Marlborough in the county of Wilts.

Soon after the coronation he was made Commander in Chief of the English forces sent over to Holland,\* commanded at the battle of Walcourt fought in August 1689, and exhibited such extraordinary proofs of military skill during the engagement, that the Prince of Waldeck declared to King William; 'he saw more into the art of war in a day, than some generals in many years.'

The following year James having withdrawn himself from Ireland, Marlborough, who would never appear in the field against that Monarch, accepted the command of a body of English forces, destined to act in conjunction with the German and Dutch auxiliaries in reducing Cork and some other places

\* King William commanded, this year, in Ireland.



of importance; in all which he so highly distinguished himself that his royal master observed, upon his return to court, ‘ he knew no man so fit for a General, who had seen so few campaigns.’ The year following he passed with William on the Continent, and distinguished his sagacity by detecting the enemy’s design of besieging Mous, in which the Dutch deputies were deceived.

All these services, however, did not prevent his being suddenly disgraced in 1692. Having, as Lord of the Bedchamber in waiting, introduced Lord George Hamilton at court, he was followed to his own house by that nobleman with the laconic message, ‘ that the King had no farther occasion for his services.’ The cause of this dismissal is not, even at present, certainly known; but it is supposed to have proceeded from his attachment to the interest of the Princess Anne, whom their Majesties wished to retain in a state of dependence upon themselves; and for whom, in opposition to that wish, he and his Countess had by their joint interest procured from Parliament a settlement of *50,000*l.* per ann.*

This unexpected blow was followed by an event still more extraordinary: the Earl and several other noblemen, upon a false charge of high treason, were committed to the Tower. The accusation was grounded upon a paper, said to have been an association entered into by these Peers against the government: but, upon an examination of the document and other evidences at the Council Board, the whole was asserted to be a forgery; the suspected Lords were released, and their false accusers were set in the pillory and publicly whipped.

Though the affair however was enveloped in mystery at the time, from Macpherson's 'State Papers' it appears highly probable, that there really existed a correspondence between Marlborough and his connexions on one part, and the exiled King on the other, which had for it's object a counter-revolution : that the Princess Anne had been influenced by her favourite, the Countess of Marlborough, to feel sincere compunction for her hostility toward her father, and to entreat by letter his forgiveness ; and, lastly, that Churchill had betrayed to James the secret councils of King William, and requested instructions how he might best promote his service. It is even said that, by a base act of treachery to his country, he ' apprised the Ex-monarch in 1694 of a design formed to attack the harbour of Brest, and to destroy the ships of war lying in that port.'

Upon the death of Queen Mary, when the interests of the two courts were brought to a better agreement, William recalled the Earl of Marlborough to his Privy Council ; and in 1698 appointed him governor to the Duke of Gloucester, saying, " Make him but what you are, and my nephew will be all I wish to see him." This important duty the Earl discharged in a manner equally satisfactory to the Sovereign and the nation, and sanguine hopes were conceived of his royal pupil ; when in 1700 he was seized with a fever, occasioned by over-heating himself on his birthday, which in five days carried him off, in the eleventh year of his age. Being the last surviving child of the Princess Anne, who had previously lost three others, the crown upon her death by the Act of Succession descended to the illustrious house of Hanover.

Soon afterward, the Earl of Marlborough was appointed Commander in Chief of the British forces in Holland, and Ambassador Extraordinary to the States General: this was the last mark of honour which he received from King William, if we except the recommending of him to the Princess Anne, as ‘the person most proper to be entrusted with the command of an army destined to protect the liberty of Europe.’

In March 1702, upon the accession of the new Sovereign, he was elected Knight of the Garter; declared Captain General of all her Majesty’s forces, and sent a second time to the Hague, with the same diplomatic character as before. The States concurred with him in all his proposals, and made him Captain General of their forces, with an appointment of one hundred thousand florins *per ann.*

On his return to England, he found the Queen’s council already divided; some wishing to carry on the war merely as auxiliaries, others to declare immediately against France and Spain as principals. The Earl of Marlborough, joining with the latter, enabled them to carry their point.

He now proceeded to take upon himself the command, having previously secured an essential point, in procuring the appointment of his son-in-law Godolphin to the head of the Treasury, and perceiving that the States were made uneasy by the places which the enemy held on the frontiers, began with reducing them. A single campaign made him master of the castles of Gravenbroeck and Waerts; the towns of Venlo, Ruremond, and Stevenswaert; and the city and citadel of Liege, which last he entered sword in hand.

These advantages, considerable as they were acknowledged to be by the States, were likely to have been of a very short duration; for on the fourth of November he was taken prisoner, in his passage by water, by a small party of thirty men from the garrison at Gueldres: but offering, with great presence of mind, to the commanding officer an old pass, which had been given to his brother General Churchill, he was suffered to proceed, and arriving safe at the Hague relieved his friends from their consternation.

The winter now approaching, he embarked for England, received the thanks of the House of Commons, and was by her Majesty created Marquis of Blandford and Duke of Marlborough. She, likewise, added a pension of 5000*l. per ann.* out of the Post Office during her own life: and by a message to the Lower House signified her desire, that ‘they would extend the pension, in the same manner as she had done the title, to him and his heirs male.’ With this, however, the Commons refused to comply; applauding indeed her Majesty’s manner of rewarding public services, but declaring their determination not to create such a precedent for alienating the revenue of the crown. During his stay in England, he carried a motion for augmenting the troops abroad by taking 10,000 foreign soldiers into British pay.

In February 1703, he was on the point of returning to Holland, when his only son, the Marquis of Blandford, died at Cambridge at the age of eighteen. But this afflictive event did not long retard his journey: he arrived at the Hague on the seventeenth of March.

The French had a great army this year in Flanders,

in the Low Countries, and in that part of Germany which the Elector of Cologne had surrendered into their hands, and prodigious preparations had been made under their most experienced commanders: but the vigilance and activity of the English General baffled them all; and after forcing Bonne, Hay, Limburgh, and Gueldres, he returned home in October.

In the beginning of the following January (1704) by desire of the States General he passed over to the Hague, and having explained to the Grand Pensionary the necessity of attempting something for the relief of the Emperor Charles VI., whose affairs at this time were in the utmost distress, returned to England on the fourteenth of February. In April, such was his activity, he re-embarked for Holland; and having adjusted the necessary measures, began his march toward the heart of Germany, unexpectedly made his appearance before the strong entrenchments of the enemy at Schellenburg defended by 20,000 men, and after an obstinate engagement entirely put them to flight. Upon this occasion, the Emperor addressed to him a letter written with his own hand, acknowledging his great services, and offering him the title of a Prince of the Empire, which however he declined, till commanded by his own Sovereign to accept it.

With a view of improving his success, he led the confederate army within a league of Augsburg, and by cutting off the communication of the Elector of Bavaria with his dominions, had actually compelled that Prince to agree to sign a treaty of peace, when he received the news that ' Marshal Tallard at the head of the French army was on the point of joining

him.' This change of circumstance brought on the celebrated battle of Hochstedt.\* It was fought on the thirteenth of August, 1704, and ended in a complete victory on the part of the allies. More than 10,000 of the Gallo-Bavarian army were killed in the action; nearly an equal number wounded, or drowned in the Danube; and Marshal Tallard, the French Commander in Chief, who had lost his only son in the conflict, with seven Generals, 1,200 other officers, and 13,000 of his followers taken prisoners. A hundred pieces of cannon, 24 mortars, 129 colours, 171 standards, 17 pair of kettle drums, 3,600 tents, 34 coaches, 300 mules laden with provisions, ammunition, and baggage, two bridges of boats, and fifteen barrels and eight casks of silver, composed the spoils of the day. But, what is still more remarkable, the victors lost only 4,500 men killed, and about 8,000 wounded or taken prisoners.

Continuing his pursuit, he now forced the French to repass the Rhine. Landau was taken, and the enemy trembled for their own safety. He paid a visit, also, to Berlin, to solicit that 8,000 Prussians might be sent into Italy; and rapidly negotiated a suspension of the disputes between the King of Prussia and the Dutch, by which he gained the good will of both parties. On the fourteenth of December, he arrived in England, bringing over with him Marshal Tallard, and twenty six other officers of distinction, with the colours of the enemy; which, by

\* This battle is, generally, stiled in history 'The Battle of Blenheim,' from the proximity of that village to the field of action. Its result was, the preservation of the Empire, and the subjugation of the Electorate of Bavaria.

her Majesty's direction, were hung up in Westminster Hall.

The highest marks of esteem were now showered upon him from all quarters. He received the solemn thanks of both Houses of Parliament: \* the Commons addressed her Majesty to perpetuate the memory of this victory, by granting Woodstock with the Hundred of Wotton to him and his heirs for ever: † and the Comptroller of her

\* This honour was conferred upon him six times in the course of his military career. The Duke of Wellington can boast a still prouder series of national acknowledgements.

† This was confirmed by a subsequent Act containing this remarkable clause, "that they should be held by the Duke and his heirs, on condition of tendering to the Queen, her heirs and successors, on the second of August every year for ever, at the castle of Windsor, a standard with three *fleurs de lys*, the arms of France, painted thereon."

Upon this victory, likewise, Addison wrote his 'Campaign;' which, as Voltaire (no great English critic, indeed) has observed, will survive the palace of Blenheim. One of its passages has often been quoted, with deserved admiration:

'Twas then great Marlbro's mighty soul was proved,  
That in the shock of charging hosts unmoved,  
Amidst confusion, horror, and despair  
Examined all the dreadful scenes of war;  
In peaceful thought the field of death survey'd,  
To fainting squadrons sent the timely aid,  
Inspired repulsed battalions to engage,  
And taught the doubtful battle where to rage.

So when an Angel by divine command  
With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,  
Such as of late o'er pale Britannia past,  
Calm and serene he drives the furious blast;  
And, pleased th' Almighty's orders to perform,  
Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.'

\* Addison's excellent mottoes, likewise, may now appropri-

Majesty's Works was ordered to build a magnificent palace upon his new domain, called Blenheim House, which still stands a proud memorial at once of individual prowess and national gratitude. Medals, also, were struck to perpetuate the memory of the victory.

The next year, 1705, he passed again into Holland, with the design of forwarding some magnificent schemes, which he had projected during the winter. But though he relieved Liege, retook Hay, and forced the French lines (defended by 76,000 men, under the Elector of Bavaria and Marshal Villeroy) before Tirlemont, which were deemed impregnable; from some impediments thrown in his way by the allies, he failed in effecting his principal objects.

The season for action being over, he made a tour to the courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Hanover. No man, it has been observed, ever displayed happier powers in conciliating different tempers and interests; to which a perfect command of himself, and an habitual practice of all the arts of good-breeding, greatly contributed. At the first of these, he ac-

ately be cited, with reference to England and her illustrious General:

*Omnis in hoc uno variis discordia cessit  
Ordinibus; letatur Eques, plauditque Senator,  
Votaque Patricio certant Plebeia favori.*

(CLAUD. de Laud. Stilic.)

*Esse aliquam in terris gentem quæ suâ impensâ, suo labore ac periculo, bella gerat pro libertate aliorum. Nec hoc finitimis, aut propinquæ vicinitatis hominibus, aut terris continenti junctis præset: maria trajiciat; ne quod toto orbe terrarum injustum imperium sit, et ubique jus, fas, lex potentissima sint.*

(Liv. Hist. xxxiii.)



quired the entire confidence of the new Emperor, Joseph I., who had presented him with the Principality of Mindelheim; at the second, he renewed the contract for the Prussian forces; and, at the last, he restored perfect harmony, and adjusted every thing to the Elector's satisfaction. He then returned to the Hague, and about the close of the year arrived safe in England.

In the following campaign, after several inferior advantages, he gained a complete victory on the twelfth of May (being Whitsunday) over the Duke of Bavaria and Marshal Villeroy, at the village of Ramillies. In the course of this action, he was twice in the utmost danger; once by a fall from his horse, and a second time by a cannon-shot, which took off the head of Colonel Bingfield, as he was holding the stirrup for his Grace to remount.

The two armies, previously to the engagement, consisted nearly of 60,000 men each. This action, however, which cost the allies only 2,500 men, while the enemy sustained a loss of 8,000 killed, 4,000 wounded, and 6,000 taken prisoners, completely destroyed their equality of numbers.

The advantages of this triumph were so judiciously improved by his vigilance and activity, that Louvain, Brussels, Mechlin, and even Ghent and Bruges submitted to Charles III. without a stroke; and Oudenard surrendered upon the first summons. The city of Antwerp followed the example. He subsequently reduced the towns of Ostend, Menin, Dendermonde, and Aeth. Brabant and Flanders were recovered, and had the Dutch supported the conqueror, he might have invested the capital of France.

Upon his arrival in London, though there was a

party now formed against him at court, his great services, and the personal esteem entertained for him by the Queen herself, procured him universally a good reception. The two Houses of Parliament not only voted him their thanks, but also addressed her Majesty for leave to bring in a bill, to settle his titles upon the male and female issue of his daughters; and in extension of their request, Blenheim House with the Manor of Woodstock was entailed in the same manner with the personal honours.\*

Two days afterward, the standards and colours taken at Ramilies were carried in state through the city, in order to be hung up in Guildhall; and on the last day of the year, a day appointed for a general thanksgiving, her Majesty went in state to St. Paul's.†

He next paid a visit to Charles XII. of Sweden, at that time in Saxony; and, though his reception was cold and reserved, he quickly discovered that the projects of that Prince did not interfere with those of the confederated powers.

The campaign of the year 1707, from the tardiness of the allies and the talents of his antagonist General, the celebrated Duke of Vendome, proved comparatively barren of trophies. Nor did things go on more to his satisfaction at home. The Queen had a female favourite, who was on the

\* Shortly afterward likewise, the grant of the pension of 5,000*l.* per ann. from the Post Office, which had been refused by a preceding parliament, was continued in conformity to her Majesty's wishes.

† This, it may be remarked as a singular occurrence, was the second thanksgiving within the year.

point of supplanting his Duchess; and her ear was open to the insinuations of a statesman, who was no friend to his interests. All this, however, he bore with a degree of philosophical firmness, though he distinctly perceived to what it tended; and passed into Holland, as usual, early in the spring of the year 1708.

During the ensuing campaign the French, under the Duke of Vendome and the Princes of the Blood, having marched to the banks of the Scheldt, Marlborough in conjunction with Prince Eugene passed that river in their sight, and on the eleventh of July defeated their whole army at Oudenard with comparatively little loss. Lisle, the bulwark of the French barrier, was invested; and though the enemy by a new effort interrupted the communication with Holland, it was dextrously re-opened by the Duke, and the necessary convoys reached his camp in safety. The French, who marched with all their forces to the relief of the place, arrived only in time to be spectators of its fall. He then re-crossed the Scheldt, relieved Brussels, which was besieged by the Elector of Bavaria, and in the midst of very severe weather compelled Ghent to surrender. The French Monarch now thought fit, in the beginning of 1709, to set on foot a negotiation for peace. Upon this occasion, exchanging the sword for the pen, he was appointed Plenipotentiary on the part of England; which not a little contributed to the enemy's disappointment, by defeating all their projects.

In the campaign of 1709, the French army was commanded by Marshal Villars; of whom Lewis XIV. ~~said~~ <sup>significantly</sup> pronounced, "Villars was never con-

quered." It remained for the siege of Tournay, and the field of Malplaquet, to convince him that Villars was not invincible.

Tournay surrendered on the thirtieth of July, and on the eleventh of September following was fought the battle of (Blaregnies, or) Malplaquet. In this engagement the allies were commanded by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, and the French by their celebrated Marshals, Villars and Boufflers. Each army consisted of about 100,000 of the best troops ever seen in Europe; and after a most obstinate conflict, the allies penetrated the entrenchments of the enemy, and compelled them to retreat: but the victory was dearly purchased at the price of 20,000 men.

On his Grace's return home, though her Majesty, with an apparent anxiety to show him every mark of royal kindness, appointed him Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Oxford, he perceived that foreign intrigues were daily gaining ground. The affair of Dr. Sacheverell had thrown the nation into a ferment; and the Queen had taken such a dislike to his Duchess, that she seldom appeared at court.

In the beginning of the year 1710, the French proposed a new negotiation, commonly distinguished by the title of the 'Treaty of Gertruydenberg.' Upon this occasion, Marlborough at the request of the House of Commons was again sent to the Hague, where he met Prince Eugene, and soon afterward set out with him for the army, then assembled in the neighbourhood of Tournay. But notwithstanding a successful campaign, in which the Duke, by the capture of Douay, Bethune, St. Venant,

and Air opened himself a passage into the heart of France, he found on his return his interest still more rapidly declining, and his services wholly disregarded. The negotiations for peace were carried on during a great part of the summer; but in July they broke off: the Dutch insisting, that 'the French' Monarch should compel his grandson Philip to cede the throne of Spain to Charles III.,' and the French utterly refusing to listen to the proposition.

In August, the Queen began the great change in her ministry, by removing Sunderland from the Secretaryship of State, and Godolphin from the head of the Treasury.

Upon the meeting of parliament, no notice was taken in the addresses of his Grace's recent victories: an attempt, indeed, was made to procure him the thanks of the House of Peers, but it was strenuously opposed by the Duke of Argyle. He was kindly received, however, by the Queen, who seemed desirous that he should continue upon good terms with her new ministry; but, as that was thought impracticable, it was daily expected that he would lay down his commission. This he did not do: he only carried the golden key, the ensign of his wife's dignity, to the Queen, and resigned all her employments. He then calmly proceeded to concert the necessary measures for the ensuing spring with those whom he knew to be his private enemies; and treated all parties with the utmost candor and respect.

An exterior civility (in court-language, a good understanding) being thus established between them, he went over to the Hague, to prepare for what he knew would be his last campaign. He exerted him-

self, indeed, during it's whole continuance in an uncommon manner, and with his accustomed success.

Among other exploits, he entered the lines of Marshal Villars, who had boasted that 'they were impregnable,' without losing a man; and in sight of a superior French army reduced the strong fortress of Bouchain, making it's garrison of 60,000 men prisoners of war.

Upon his return, he interchanged visits with the ministry; but he did not attend the Council Board, because a negotiation for peace was then on the carpet, upon a basis which he by no means approved.

In the audience which he had at his arrival, he told her Majesty that 'as he could not concur in the measures of those who directed her councils, so he would not distract them by a fruitless opposition;' yet, finding himself calumniated in the House of Lords with the imputation of having protracted the war, he vindicated his character with great dignity and spirit; pathetically appealing to his royal mistress, then present *incognita*, for the falsehood of the charge; and declaring that 'he was as much for peace as any man, provided it were such a peace as might reasonably be expected from a war undertaken on just motives, and carried on with uninterrupted success.'

This speech, which produced a powerful effect upon that august assembly, and probably made some impression on the Queen herself, gave such an edge to the resentment of his enemies, that they resolved at all events to remove him from his high office. To give some colour to their hostility, an inquiry was promoted in the House of Commons, tending to fix a deep stain

upon his character, by implying that he had pocketed large sums of the public money. A question to this purport having been carried, her Majesty, by a letter conceived in very obscure terms, acquainted him that 'she had no farther occasion for his services,' and dismissed him from all his employments.

Thus was discharged from the service of his country a General, who (according to Voltaire) did France as much mischief by his understanding as by his arms, was at St. James' a perfect courtier, the head of a party in parliament, and in foreign countries the most able negotiator of his time. His address, as we are assured by Fagel (Secretary to the States General) was such, that though their High Mightinesses had frequently resolved to oppose whatever he should lay before them, he invariably subdued their purpose.\*

From this time forward, he was exposed to a most painful persecution. On one hand, he was attacked by the clamors of the populace, and the licentious-

\* A most remarkable instance of his Grace's penetration occurred in his mission, above mentioned, to the court of Sweden. Apprehensive that Charles XII. would take part with France in order to depress the House of Austria, the allies despatched Marlborough to fathom that Prince's intentions. On his introduction, after telling his Majesty that 'he should be happy to learn under his tuition what he yet wanted to know in the art of war,' he turned his discourse upon the existing state of Europe, fixing his eyes attentively on Charles throughout the whole interview: and finding that as he spoke of the victories or the reverses of the allies, his Majesty's countenance was alternately lighted up or overcast, and that his countenance constantly kindled at the very mention of the Czar of Muscovy, of which country a map lay spread before him on the table, he was fully satisfied of the nature of his projects, and returned without making him any proposal.

ness of venal scribblers always ready to espouse the quarrels of a ministry, and to insult without mercy those whom they can insult with impunity : on the other, a prosecution was commenced against him by the Attorney General, for having applied the national treasures to his private use ; and the very workmen employed in building Blenheim House, though engaged by the crown, were encouraged to prosecute him for the amount of their contracts !

These uneasinesses, joined to his grief for the death of the Earl of Godolphin, induced him to elude the malice of his enemies by a voluntary exile. Accordingly, in November 1712, he embarked at Dover; and by Ostend and Antwerp passed to Aix la Chapelle, every where treated with those honours which had been ungratefully withheld from him by his own countrymen.

The peace, however, having failed to restore harmony in the public councils, some of the principal statesmen are said to have secretly invited the Duke of Marlborough back to England. He reached London three days after the Queen's death, in August 1714; was received with all possible demonstrations of joy by those who, upon her Majesty's demise, were entrusted with the functions of the government ; and upon the arrival of George I. was particularly distinguished by marks of Royal favour : being immediately re-appointed Captain General and Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's land-forces, Colonel of the first regiment of Foot Guards, and Master of the Ordnance.

His advice was of signal use in concerting those measures, by which the Rebellion of 1715 was crushed : and this was his last public effort ; for his



infirmities increasing with his years,\* he retired from business, and spent the greatest part of his remaining life, in a state of absolute dotage, at one or other of his country-houses.

His death happened on the sixteenth of June, 1722, at Windsor Lodge; and his corpse, upon the ninth of August following, was interred with the highest solemnity in Westminster Abbey.†

His understanding does not appear to have been

\* ‘ From Marlborough’s eyes the streams of dotage flow;  
And Swift expires, a driveller and a show.’

(Johnson’s ‘ *Vanity of Human Wishes.*’)

† The Duchess having offered a premium of 500*l.* for the best poem on her consort’s achievements, the following epigram appeared upon the occasion:

‘ Five hundred pounds! too small a boon  
To put the poet’s Muse in tune,  
That nothing might escape her:  
Should she attempt th’ heroic story  
Of the illustrious Churchill’s glory,  
It scarce would buy the paper!’

At her death, she bequeathed 1000*l.* to Glover and Mallet, on condition of their jointly writing memoirs of the Duke without any verses. Glover rejected his portion of the legacy with disdain, and left the whole affair to his vain and petulant associate. “ I cannot,” he observes with dignified concern, “ refrain from regret, that the capricious restrictions in the Duchess of Marlborough’s will, appointing me to write the life of her illustrious husband, compelled me to reject the undertaking. There, conduct, valour, and success abroad; prudence, perseverance, learning, and science at home, would have shed some portion of their graces on the historian’s page. A mediocrity of talent would have felt an unmerited elevation in the bare attempt of transmitting so splendid a period to succeeding ages.” It remains for the highly respectable biographer of the Walpoles and the Spanish B. to supply the desideratum. His labours, always eminently useful, are now employed upon the subject (1816).

of that rank, which rises to the character of genius ; but rather seems to have been marked by plain good sense, and a natural sagacity always ready to be brought into action through the benefit of extraordinary coolness of temper and self-possession. His want of even common literature may be excused, from his early introduction to the study of the world and the courtly arts of preferment ; and these served him so well, that he was at no loss in conducting the numerous and delicate negotiations with which he was charged. His success in these is by Lord Chesterfield attributed, in a great degree, to his exquisite proficiency in ‘the graces,’ which rendered him irresistible both to man and woman. It may be added, that the mercenary politics of courts are best managed by the obvious arguments of interest, and do not require the superior abilities of an orator, or a legislator. His military talents are those, on which his fame is most solidly founded. They are, perhaps, rated higher by his countrymen, than by the rest of Europe : though the general who, when matched during ten eventful campaigns against the first warrior of his age, won every battle he fought, and took every town he besieged, cannot be denied to have given practical proof of mastery in his profession.\* The co-operation, indeed, of Prince Eugene must doubt-

\* His comprehensive and various capacity, observes a late historian, was equally adapted to complicated and to detached objects. In the several departments of plan and stratagem, and of enterprise and action, he was alike successful. The general arrangement of the campaign and the dispositions which he made in the day of battle, the choice of ground, his composure and presence of mind in the heat of an engagement, his improvement of victory and his ready expedients under bad fortune—were all evidences of a stupendous pitch of military genius.

less have been of great service to him ; nor is it easy, in their joint exploits, accurately to distinguish the precise share of praise due to each. It is remarkable that the King of Prussia, in his poem on the ‘ Art of War ’ (whether from envy and dislike of the English nation, or from under-rating their General) never mentions the Duke of Marlborough.

His moral character was that of a man of the world, who made interest his chief guide. His connexion with the Whigs was, probably, no more than an interested association ; and, if Macpherson may be credited, he maintained a correspondence with Lord Bolingbroke, with a view to recover his power through favour of a part of Queen Anne’s Tory ministry. That avarice, for which he was more notorious than even for ambition, could scarcely fail to warp him from the path of real patriotism : yet there is no reason to suppose, that during the height of his influence he ever sacrificed to it the interests of his country.\* After this free display of his de-

\* Even his avarice might, perhaps, correctly be referred to his Duchess, to whom Swift says ‘ he owed both his greatness and fall.’ No woman was ever less formed for a court, yet her Sovereign was but the second person in it. Of a disposition totally the reverse of that of Queen Anne, she had the art to put her royal mistress at the head of a party, and thus made her the vehicle of her sentiments and the minister of her covetousness. Few European princes could, from their own revenues, command such sums as this lady, during the last thirty five years of her life, possessed. Conscious, at length, that she had incurred the contempt of the nation, she employed Hooke, the historian of Rome, at the price of 5000*l.* to write her Defence ; which was published, in 1742, under the title of ‘ An Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough from her first coming to court to the year 1710. In a Letter from herself to my  
Interesting from the ease and elegance of its style.

fects, it would be unjust to suppress the brief but expressive eulogy bestowed upon him by his political enemy, the celebrated Earl of Peterborough: "He was so great a man. that I have forgotten his faults."

it's anecdotes, and it's original communications, this Volume gave rise to considerable controversy; while from the pride and prejudice displayed in it, and more particularly the malignity with which it treats the memories of William and Mary, it added very little to the respectability of it's subject. "It is seldom (observes Lord Orford, in his 'Royal and Noble Authors') the public receives information on princes and favourites from the fountain-head: flattery, or invective, is apt to pervert the relations of others. It is from their own pens alone, whenever they are so gracious (like the lady in question) as to have a 'passion for fame and approbation,' that we learn exactly how trifling and foolish and ridiculous their views and actions were, and how often the mischief they did proceeded from the most inadequate causes."

When Pope's character of 'Atossa,' which was meant for herself, was read to her as a portrait of the Duchess of Buckingham, she quickly exclaimed, "I cannot be so imposed upon; I see, plainly enough, for whom they are designed:" and abused Pope for the attack, though she subsequently courted his friendship.

Such was her violence of temper that, during her husband's last illness, when Dr. Mead left his chamber, she followed him down stairs, swore at him bitterly for his advice, and was about to tear off his periwig. Bishop Hoadly was present at this indecent scene. Rendered peevish by disappointed ambition, immense wealth, and increasing years, "she hated courts (says Lord Hailes) over which she had no influence, and became at length the most ferocious animal that is suffered to go loose—a violent party-woman. In the latter part of her life, she became bed-ridden. Paper, pens, and ink were placed by her side, and she occasionally wrote down her recollections on loose papers, from which Lord Hailes published a selection in 12mo. in 1788, entitled 'The Opinions of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough.' These Mr. Park properly characterises, as 'the effusions of caprice and arrogance.' She died October 18, 1744.

His Grace left four daughters, who married into the best families of the kingdom. Henrietta the eldest married Francis Earl of Godolphin, on the decease of her father became Duchess of Marlborough, and died in 1733 without male issue: Anne married Charles Earl of Sunderland, from whom are descended the present Duke of Marlborough and Earl Spencer: Elizabeth married Scroop, Duke of Bridgewater, and died in 1714; and Mary married John Duke of Montagu, by whom she had Isabella (the wife, successively, of William Duke of Manchester, and Edward Earl Beaulieu) and Mary, the wife of George Earl of Cardigan, subsequently Duke of Montagu, whose daughter, the Duchess of Montagu, died without male issue in 1775.

## SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN.\*

[1632—1723.]

**T**HIS eminent architect was the only son of Dr. Christopher Wren, Rector of East Knoyle in Wiltshire and Dean of Windsor, and brother of Matthew Wren Bishop of Ely, where his son was born on the twentieth of October, 1632. The latter part of his early education he received under the celebrated Dr. Busby, at Westminster School; whence he was sent to Oxford, and admitted a gentleman commoner at Wadham College, at the age of fourteen. In the year preceding, he had given an extraordinary specimen of his genius by inventing an astronomical instrument, which he dedicated to his father in a copy of elegant Latin verses, together with an exercise ‘*De Ortu Fluminum* :’ about the same time, likewise, he contrived a curious pneumatic machine. The progress, which he made in mathematical knowledge during the first two years of his academical residence, is recorded by Mr. Oughtred as extraordinary. His uncommon abilities excited the admiration of Dr. Wilkins, then Warden of Wadham College, and

\* **AUTHORITIES.** Ward’s *Lives of the Gresham Professors*, General *Biographical Dictionary*, *British Biography*, and *Critical View of the Public Buildings in London and Westminster*.

of Dr. Seth Ward Savilian Professor of Astronomy. By the former of these distinguished scholars he was introduced to the notice and favour of Charles, the Elector Palatine, to whom he presented several mechanical instruments of his own invention.

In 1647, he became acquainted with Sir Charles Scarborough, at whose request he undertook the translation of Oughtred's 'Geometrical Dialling' into Latin; and the same year, likewise, he drew up a new system of Spherical Trigonometry. He took the degree of B. A. in 1650; and in 1651, he published a short algebraical tract, relating to the Julian Period. He was elected a Fellow of All Souls College in the beginning of November, 1653, and after graduating as B. A. became one of the first members of the Philosophical Society at Oxford; at whose assemblies in Wadham College, he exhibited many ingenious experiments and mechanical inventions.

In 1657, he was elected Professor of Astronomy in Gresham College; where his lectures were attended by many eminent characters. One subject of them was the telescope, to the improvement of which he had greatly contributed. In 1658, he solved the problem proposed by Pascal, under the feigned name of Jean de Montfort, to all the English mathematicians; and transmitted another in return to the mathematicians of France (formerly proposed by Kepler, and at that time answered by Wren) of which they never gave any solution.

In February 1661, he was chosen Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, in the room of Dr. Seth Ward; upon which he resigned his Gresham Professorship: and, in the September following, he was created LL.D.

Among his other eminent accomplishments, Dr. Wren had already acquired so considerable a skill in architecture, that he was requested by order of Charles II. to assist Sir John Denham, Surveyor General of his Majesty's works. A commission also was offered to him, upon advantageous terms, to superintend the fortifications at Tangier: but this service, on account of his health, he requested permission to decline. He was, next, ordered to prepare designs for the general repair of St. Paul's Cathedral. In May 1663, he was chosen a Fellow of the Royal Society, being one of those who were first appointed by the Council after the grant of their charter. And not long afterward, when it was expected that the King would make them a visit, Lord Brouncker the President solicited Wren's advice, upon the subject of the exhibitions most proper for his Majesty's entertainment. The doctor, in his reply, recommended principally the Torricellian experiment, and the Weather-Needle, as being not merely amusing but useful, neat in the operation, and attended with little incumbrance.\*

The credit of the new Institution he greatly promoted by many curious discoveries in astronomy, natural philosophy, and other sciences; of which Dr. Thomas Sprat, afterward Bishop of Rochester, in his 'History of the Royal Society,' has given the following account:

"The first instance that I shall mention, to which Dr. Wren may lay peculiar claim, is the doctrine of Motion, which is the most considerable of all others for establishing the first principles of philosophy by geometrical demonstrations. This Des Cartes had

\* See the Extracts.



before begun, having taken up some experiments of this kind upon conjecture, and made them the first foundation of his whole system of nature. But some of his conclusions seeming very questionable, because they were only derived from the gross trials of balls meeting one another at tennis and billiards; Dr. Wren produced before the society an instrument to represent the effects of all sorts of impulses, made between two hard globous bodies, either of equal or of different bigness and swiftness, following or meeting each other, or the one moving and the other at rest. From these varieties arose many unexpected effects; of all which he demonstrated the true theories, after they had been confirmed by many hundreds of experiments with that instrument. These he proposed, as the principles of all demonstrations in natural philosophy. Nor can it seem strange, that these elements should be of such universal use; if we consider that generation, corruption, alteration, and all the vicissitudes of nature are nothing else but the effects arising from the meeting of little bodies of different figures, magnitudes, and velocities.

“The second work, which he has advanced, is the history of the Seasons; which will be of admirable benefit to mankind, if it shall be constantly pursued and derived down to posterity. His proposal therefore was, to comprehend a Diary of wind, weather, and other conditions of the air, as to heat, cold, and weight; and also a general description of the year, whether contagious or healthful to men or beasts: with an account of epidemical diseases, of blasse, mildews, and other accidents, belonging to grain, cattle, fish, fowl, and insects. And because the difficulty of a constant observation of the air

by night and day seemed invincible, he therefore devised a clock to be annexed to a weathercock, which moved a rundle covered with paper, upon which the clock moved a black-lead pencil; so that the observer, by the traces of the pencil on the paper, might certainly conclude, what winds had blown in his absence for twelve hours' space. After a like manner, he contrived a thermometer to be it's own register. And because the usual thermometers were not found to give a true measure of the extension of the air, by reason that the accidental gravity of the liquor, as it lay higher or lower in the glass, weighed unequally on the air, and gave it a farther contraction or extension over and above that which was produced by heat and cold; therefore he invented a circular thermometer, in which the liquor occasions no fallacy, but remains always in one height, moving the whole instrument, like a wheel on it's axis.

“ He has contrived an instrument to measure the quantities of Rain that falls. This, as soon as it is full, will pour out itself, and at the year's end discover how much rain has fallen on such a space of land, or other hard superficies; in order to the theory of vapours, rivers, seas, &c.

“ He has devised many subtile ways for the easier finding of the gravity of the Atmosphere, the degrees of drought and moisture, and many of it's other accidents. Among these instruments there are balances, which are useful to other purposes, that show the weight of the air by their spontaneous inclination.

“ Among the new discoveries of the Pendulum, these are to be attributed to him: that the pendulum in it's motion from rest to rest (that is, in one descent and ascent) moves unequally in equal times, accord-

ing to a line of sines; that it would continue to move either in circular or elliptical motions, and such vibrations would have the same periods with those that are reciprocal; and that by a complication of several pendulums depending one upon another, there might be represented motions, like the planetary heliacal motions, or more intricate; and yet that these pendulums would discover without confusion (as the planets do) three or four several motions, acting upon one body with differing periods; and that there may be produced a natural standard for measure from the pendulum for vulgar use.

“ He has invented many ways to make Astronomical observations more accurate and easy. He has fitted and hung quadrants, sextants, and radii, more commodiously than formerly. He has made two telescopes, to open with a joint like a sector, by which observers may infallibly take a distance to half minutes, and find no difference in the same observation reiterated several times; nor can any warping, or luxation, of the instrument hinder the truth of it.

“ He has added many sorts of retes, screws, and other devices to telescopes, for taking small distances and apparent diameters to seconds. He has made apertures to take in more or less light, as the observer pleases, by opening and shutting like the pupil of the eye, the better to fit glasses to crepusculine observations. He has added much to the theory of Dioptrics, much to the manufacture itself of grinding good glasses. He has attempted, and not without success, the making of glasses of other forms than spherical. He has exactly measured and delineated the spheres of the humours in the eye, whose proportions one to another were only guessed at before. This accurate

discussion produced the reason, why we see things erect; and that reflexion conduces as much to vision, as refraction.

“ He discoursed to them a natural and easy theory of Refraction, which exactly answered every experiment. He fully demonstrated all dioptrics in a few propositions, showing not only, as in Kepler’s dioptrics, the common properties of glasses, but the proportions by which the individual rays cut the axis and each other; upon which the charges (as they are usually called) of telescopes, or the proportions of the eye-glasses and apertures, are demonstrably discovered.

“ He had made constant observations on Saturn, and a theory of that planet, truly answering all observations, before the printed discourse of Huygenius on that subject appeared.

“ He has essayed to make a true Selenography by measure; the world having nothing yet but pictures, rather than surveys or maps, of the moon. He has stated the theory of the moon’s libration, as far as his observations could carry him. He has composed a lunar globe, representing not only the spots and various degrees of whiteness upon it’s surface, but the hills, eminences, and cavities, moulded in solid work. The globe, thus fashioned into a true model of the moon, as you turn it to the light represents all the menstrual phases, with the variety of appearances that happen from the shadows of the mountains and valleys. He has made maps of the Pleiades, and other telescopical stars; and proposed methods to determine the great doubt of the earth’s motion or rest, by the small stars about the pole to be seen in large telescopes.

“ In order to Navigation, he has carefully pursued many magnetical experiments; of which this is one of the noblest and most fruitful of speculation. A large terella is placed in the midst of a plane-board with a hole, into which the terella is half immersed, till it be like a globe with the poles in the horizon. Then is the plane dusted over with steel-filings equally from a sieve. The dust by the magnetical virtue is immediately figured into furrows, that bend like a sort of helix, proceeding as it were out of one pole, and returning into the other. And the whole plane is thus figured like the circle of a planisphere.

“ It being a question among the problems of navigation very well worth resolving, to what mechanical powers sailing (against the wind especially) was reducible; he showed it to be a wedge. And he demonstrated, how a transient force upon an oblique plane would cause the motion of the plane against the first mover. And he made an instrument, which mechanically produced the same effect, and showed the reason of sailing to all winds.

“ The geometrical mechanics of Rowing he showed to be a vectis on a moving, or cedent, fulcrum. For this end, he made instruments to find what the expansion of body was toward the hindrance of motion in a liquid medium, and what degree of impediment was produced by what degree of expansion; with other things, that are the necessary elements for laying down the geometry of sailing, swimming, rowing, flying, and the fabrics of ships.

“ He has invented a very curious and exceeding speedy way of Etching. He has started several things toward the emendation of Water-works. He has made instruments of Respiration, and for strain-

ing the breath from fuliginous vapours, to try whether the same breath so purified will serve again.

“ He was the first inventor of drawing pictures by Microscopical Glasses. He has found out perpetual, at least long-lived Lamps, and Registers of Furnaces and the like, for keeping a perpetual temper, in order to various uses; as hatching of eggs, insects, production of plants, chemical preparations, imitating nature in producing fossils and minerals, keeping the motion of watches equal in order to longitudes and astronomical uses and infinite other advantages.

“ He was the first author of the noble Anatomical experiment of injecting liquors in the veins of animals, an experiment now vulgarly known, but long since exhibited to the meetings at Oxford, and thence carried by some Germans and published abroad. By this operation divers creatures were immediately purged, vomited, intoxicated, killed, or revived, according to the quality of the liquor injected. Hence arose many new experiments, and chiefly that of Transfusing blood, which the society has prosecuted in sundry instances.

“ This is a short account of the principal discoveries, which Dr. Wren has presented or suggested to this assembly. I know very well, that some of them he did only start and design; and that they have been since carried on to perfection by the industry of other hands. I purpose not to rob them of their share in the honour; yet it is but reasonable, that the original invention should be ascribed to the true author, rather than the finishers. Nor do I fear that this will be thought too much, which I have said concerning him; for there is a peculiar reverence due to so much ex-

cellence, covered with so much modesty. And it is not flattery, but honesty, to give him his just praise, who is so far from usurping the fame of other men, that he endeavours with all care to conceal his own."

In 1664, he made the drawings for Dr. Willis' '*Anatome Cerebri*.' The year following he visited France, where he not only surveyed all the buildings of note in Paris, but took particular notice of whatever was chiefly remarkable in every branch of mechanics, and contracted an acquaintance with the most considerable virtuosi. And in a letter, addressed at this time to one of his friends, he informs him, 'he was so careful not to lose the impressions of those structures which he had surveyed, that he should bring all France in paper.' He concludes his communication with a large catalogue of architects, sculptors, statuaries, stucco-makers, painters in history and portraiture, gravers of medals and coins, and other artists then eminent in that country.\*

Upon his return to England, he finished his designs for the repair of St. Paul's. The Fire of London, which began on September 2, 1666, † gave him an opportunity of raising an uniform fabric. A few

\* Unfortunately, says Walpole, he went no farther; as the numerous drawings of French buildings had but too visible an influence upon some of his own.

† Of the ninety seven parish churches within the walls, this destructive fire consumed no less than eighty three, beside the Cathedral itself; and two churches without the walls, but within the liberties. Of these, forty eight were ordered by 22 Charles II. to be rebuilt; some annexed to other churches, and others not annexed. These are all distinguished by Italics in the list attached to the end of this Memoir.

days after that disaster, he drew a plan for an entirely new city. His model was so formed, that the chief streets were to cross each other in right lines, with smaller streets between them: the public buildings and markets were so disposed, as not to interfere with the streets; and at proper distances were placed four piazzas, in which several of the streets should meet. The parochial churches were visible at the end of every vista of houses, and from their distribution appeared neither too thick nor too thin in prospect. From St. Paul's, as the centre of the whole, streets were to have diverged in every direction. The public halls for the several Companies were to be built upon a quay facing the Thames, on which also were to have been erected houses for some of the principal merchants. But the execution of this noble design was unhappily prevented by the disputes, which arose about private property, and the hurry of re-building; though its practicability was satisfactorily demonstrated, and every material objection had been fully discussed and surmounted.

Upon the decease of Sir John Denham, in March 1668, Dr. Wren succeeded him in the office of Surveyor General of his Majesty's Works. In the same year, he finished the Theatre at Oxford. This structure is particularly admirable for the contrivance of the flat roof, which extends eighty feet by seventy, without any arch-work or pillars to support it.

The variety of business, in which he was now engaged as an architect, requiring his constant attendance, he resigned his Savilian Professorship in 1673. The year following, he received from Charles II. the honour of knighthood. Some time afterwards he married Faith, daughter of Sir Thomas Coghlin of Bleching-



ton in Oxfordshire, by whom he had one child, a son of his own name. By his second wife Jane, daughter of Lord Fitzwilliam (Baron of Lifford in Ireland) he had two others, a son and a daughter.

In 1675, he began the new Cathedral of St. Paul's; a fabric generally accounted second only to St. Peter's, in the Grecian stile, among Christian churches.

In 1677, he completed the Monument, which had been commenced in 1671 by order of parliament to commemorate the burning and re-building of London. Of this pillar, of the Doric order, the pedestal is forty feet high and twenty one square, the diameter fifteen, and the altitude two hundred and two; a height greatly exceeding that of the pillars of Trajan and Antoninus at Rome,\* and of Theodosius at Constantinople. It is undoubtedly, as the author of 'The Review of our Public Buildings' observes, "the noblest modern column in the world: nay, in some respects, it may justly vie with those celebrated ones of antiquity, which are consecrated to the names of Trajan and Antonine. Nothing can be more bold and surprising, nothing more beautiful and harmonious: the bas relief at the base,† allowing for some few defects, is finely imagined and executed as well: and nothing material can be cavilled with, but the inscriptions round about it."‡ These, like-

\* The latter,  $12\frac{1}{4}$  feet in diameter, was  $172\frac{1}{2}$  feet high; the former only 147.

† By the father of Colley Cibber, the Poet Laureat. The same artist supplied the celebrated figures over the old gate of Bethlem Hospital.

‡ The Catholics resenting that part of the inscription, which ascribed the conflagration to 'the treachery and malice of their faction,' procured it's erasure upon the accession of James II.;

wise, Sir Christopher Wren had prepared in a different stile; but he was over-ruled.

In 1680, he was elected President of the Royal Society; and in 1681, he put the finishing hand to the church of St. Stephen's, Walbrook. "This church," says an ingenious writer, "so little known among us, is famous all over Europe, and is justly reputed the master-piece of the celebrated Sir Christopher Wren. Perhaps Italy itself can produce no modern building, that can vie with it in taste or proportion: there is not a beauty, which the plan would admit of, that is not to be found here in it's greatest perfection; and foreigners very justly call our judgement in question for understanding it's graces no better, and allowing it no higher a degree of fame."

In 1683, he was appointed Architect and Commissioner for Chelsea College; and, the year following, Comptroller of the Works in the Castle at Windsor.

In 1685, he was chosen Representative for Plympton in Devonshire. In 1690, he began to build the royal apartments at Hampton Court, which were finished in 1694, just before the death of the Queen. These the King himself pronounced, 'for good proportion, state, and convenience unparalleled in any palace in Europe.' Queen Mary, who had an elegant taste for the polite arts, and by her

but, soon after the Revolution, it was restored. In Pope's distich,

'Where London's column, pointing to the skies,  
Like a tall bully lifts it's head, and lies,' &c.

we trace the religion of the author.

proficiency in several sciences was superior to most of her sex, took great pleasure at all times in conversing freely with the architect upon various branches of profound literature.

In 1690, he finished Chelsea College, and prescribed also the statutes and economy of the whole establishment. He was, also, the Architect of Greenwich Hospital; and renounced all salary and emolument upon the occasion, as a tribute to the generous purpose for which it was erected.

In 1698, he was appointed Surveyor General and Commissioner for the repair of Westminster Abbey.

In 1700, he was elected Member for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, in Dorsetshire. Eight years afterward, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for building the new churches in and about London. In 1710, he finished the Cathedral of St. Paul. This magnificent Cathedral, it has been observed, was completed in the space of thirty five years under one Architect, one principal Mason, Mr. Strong, and one Bishop of London (Dr. Henry Compton), in the reigns of four Princes; whereas that of St. Peter's at Rome was one hundred and forty five years in building, and during the reigns of nineteen Popes employed the talents of twelve successive architects, though assisted by the powerful patronage of the Romish see, the ready acquisition of marble from the neighbouring quarries of Tivoli, the ablest artists in sculpture, statuary, painting, and Mosaic work, and the whole wealth of the Catholic world. The outside, and particularly the western front, of the Protestant edifice is acknowledged to be much superior to those of its mighty model. The

whole expense of it's erection was 736,752*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*\* Before Sir Christopher was called upon to produce his design for it, he had made several sketches, in order to discover what would be most acceptable to the general taste; and finding that persons of all degrees declared in favour of grandeur, he formed a very noble one, conformable to the best stile of Greek and Roman architecture, of which he caused a large model to be constructed in wood, and presented to his Majesty: but the Bishops disapproving it, as not sufficiently of the cathedral form, he substituted the plan of the present edifice in it's stead. The first design, however, which (like that of St. Pe-

\* The charge, by some computations stated at more than double the above sum, was chiefly supported by a small tax on sea-coal, beside a grant from the privy purse of 1,000*l.* *per ann.*, and the gifts, subscriptions, and legacies of individuals.

The dimensions of the New Cathedral of St. Paul, compared with the Old, and with St. Peter's at Rome, are as follow:

	New.	Old.	St. Peter's.
Length within - - -	500	660	669
Breadth at the Entrance - -	100	—	226
————— Cross - -	223	130	442
Front without - - -	180	—	395
Diameter of the Dome - -	108	—	139
Height from the Ground - -	440	520	578
———— of the Church - -	110	150	146
———— the Cupola and Lantern	330	—	432

New St. Paul's stands upon a little more than two acres of ground: the area of the Old exceeded three acres and a half. Notwithstanding these inferiorities of dimension, however, 'for loftiness and grandeur (it is justly asserted), beauty in perspective, truth and firmness in building, taste in design, harmony of parts, and convenience for the celebration of divine worship, there never was so perfect a building begun and finished under the sole direction of one individual in the universe.'

ter's at Rome) was of the Corinthian order, he himself preferred to that, by which it was superseded.\*

He was employed in erecting a great variety of other churches, and public edifices; but notwithstanding his extraordinary merit, in April 1718, he was to the disgrace of the administration removed from his Surveyorship, in the eightysixth year of his age, after upward of fifty years spent in the continued and laborious service of the public. Till this time he had resided in an official house in Scotland Yard, adjoining to Whitehall. But after his removal, he dwelt occasionally in St. James' Street, Westminster, continuing Surveyor of the Abbey (to which station he had been appointed in 1698) till his death. He had another house also, as Surveyor General to the Crown, at Hampton Court: which being held by an Exchequer-lease, under a grant of Queen Anne, descended to his son. Having employed five years of retirement in scientific studies and reading the Scriptures, he died of a cold in the ninety first year of his age, February 25, 1723.† His funeral

\* This curious Model is still preserved in the Cathedral. The device over the pediment (it may be added) 'a Phœnix rising from the Flames,' with the word *Resurgam* underneath, originated probably from an accident, which was regarded by the architect himself as a favourable omen. When he had set out the dimensions, and fixed upon the centre of the great dome, a labourer was ordered to bring him a flat stone from the rubbish, as a mark of the spot. The man accidentally laid his hand first upon a fragment of a grave-stone, with the single word *Resurgam* in large capitals remaining. This circumstance Sir Christopher never forgot.

† He is said to have indulged a pardonable pride in his great performance, by ordering himself to be carried once every year to St. Paul's.

was attended by many persons of honour and distinction to St. Paul's, where his corpse was deposited under a flat stone railed in between two pillars, and bearing a short English inscription. But the church itself being his most appropriate and noble monument, he wanted no other; as is justly intimated in a Latin inscription, written by his son, and placed above the former, to the following purport: "Beneath lies buried CHRISTOPHER WREN, the builder of this church and city, who lived upward of ninety years, not to himself, but for the good of the public. Reader, if thou seekest his monument, look round."\*

He was, in his person, low and thin; but by temperance and skilful management, for he was a proficient in anatomy and physic, he enjoyed a good state of health, and protracted his life to an unusual length. For this, however, he might probably be indebted in part to his remarkable cheerfulness and equanimity. He was also modest, devout, strictly virtuous, very communicative of what he knew, and extremely disinterested; the acquisition of wealth appearing scarcely in any degree to have been an object of his attention.

"He was," says a brother-architect, "one of the worthy favourites of fortune; living in times and under circumstances, which afforded greater employment for his talents than any other English artist has been favoured with, he possessed an inexhaustible fertility of invention, combined with good natural taste and profound scientific knowledge; qualities, which render his works highly interesting and admirable, in

\* *Lector, si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*

spite of defects which a better study of the antique would have taught him to avoid.

“ In the steeples of churches, objects for which the remains of antique buildings offer no models, other architects have almost invariably failed ; but among the rich variety of Wren’s towers, steeples, and spires many are truly elegant. The church of St. Stephen’s, Walbrook, exhibits a departure from common forms, equally ingenious and beautiful. The Monument is grand and simple. If these (which, in speaking of Sir C. Wren, must be called ‘ his inferior works ’) be compared with the productions of his successors Hawksmoor, Gibbs, and others, we shall be truly sensible of the taste and judgement of this great architect, in observing the gross and heavy absurdities which they have fallen into, and he has avoided. But it is by his great work, the Cathedral of St. Paul’s, that the fame of Wren will live ; an edifice which, in architectural beauties and skilful construction, is inferior to none of the large churches of Europe. Though few have executed so much, there are some of his unexecuted designs, which ought not to be passed unnoticed. In the original model for St. Paul’s, the chief defects of that building are avoided ; and had it been carried into execution, with the improvements which would naturally have occurred to his inventive mind, it would have been unquestionably the finest edifice of the kind. The design for re-building London after the great Fire is admirably adapted to the ground, and would have made this a city of unequalled beauty and convenience. The talent of Wren was particularly adapted to ecclesiastical architecture, which afforded domes and towers to

his picturesque fancy; while in his palaces and private houses he has sometimes sunk into a heavy monotony, as at Hampton Court and Winchester. At Greenwich, however, the additions made by him to the original work of Inigo Jones are singularly grand and beautiful. On the whole, Sir Christopher Wren's architecture is, perhaps, the perfection of that modern stile which, with forms and modes of construction essentially Gothic, adopts for the decorative part the orders and ornaments of antiquity."

Beside being the greatest architect of his age,\* so extensive was his proficiency in all the polite arts (but, especially, in mathematics) so fertile his invention, and so numerous and useful his discoveries, that he must always be esteemed a benefactor to mankind and an ornament to his country. Mr. Hooke, who was intimately acquainted with him, speaks of him in the following emphatic terms: "I must affirm that since the time of Archimedes there scarcely ever has met in one man, in so great a perfection, such a mechanical head and so philosophical a mind."

His only surviving child, Christopher, who was educated at Eton, removed thence to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; in 1684, was made Deputy Clerk Engrosser; and in 1698, travelled through Holland, France, and Italy. He was twice chosen member of parliament for Windsor, in the years 1712 and 1714; was a learned and pious man, a good antiquary, and beloved by all his acquaintance for his communicative

\* Of his rank, as a man of science, no other estimate need be quoted than that of Sir Isaac Newton, who in his '*Principia*' unites his name with those of Wallis and Huygens, as *hujus ætatis geometrarum facili principes*.



disposition. He died in 1747, at the age of seventy two, and lies interred at Wroxhall in Warwickshire, where he had a country-seat. In 1703, he published a treatise entitled, '*Numismatum Antiquorum Sylloge, Populis Græcis, Municipiis et Coloniis Romanis cursorum. Ex Chimeliarcho Editoris.*' He, also, left behind him a treatise in manuscript, with the following title: '*Parentalia: Memorials of the Lives of the Right Reverend Father in God, Matthew Wren, D.D. Lord Bishop of Ely; Christopher Wren, D.D. Dean of Windsor; and Sir Christopher Wren, Knt. Surveyor General of the Royal Buildings: with Collections of Records and Original Papers.*' This piece, with some alterations in the title, was published by his son Stephen in 1750, in folio.

The following is a Catalogue of the Churches of the City of London, Royal Palaces, Hospitals, and Public Edifices built by Sir Christopher Wren in the half century intervening between the years 1668 and 1718.

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.	<i>Christ's Church.</i> a.
<i>St. Alban's, Wood Street.</i> unann.	<i>St. Christopher's.</i> u.
<i>Alhallows, Bread Street.</i> ann.	<i>St. Clement Danes.</i>
<i>Alhallows the Great.</i> a.	<i>St. Clement's, East Cheap.</i> a.
<i>Alhallows, Lombard Street.</i> u.	<i>St. Dionis Backchurch.</i> u.
<i>St. Andrew's, Wardrobe.</i> a.	<i>St. Dunstan's in the East.</i> u.
<i>St. Andrew's, Holborn.</i>	<i>St. Edmund's, Lombard Street.</i> a.
<i>St. Anne's, Aldersgate.</i> a.	<i>St. George's, Botolph Lane.</i> a.
<i>St. Antholin's.</i> a.	<i>St. James', Gurlick Hill.</i> u.
<i>St. Austin's.</i> a.	<i>St. James', Westminster.</i>
<i>St. Bartholomews', Exchange.</i> u.	<i>St. Lawrence, Jewry.</i> a.
<i>St. Benet's, Finsbury.</i> u.	<i>St. Magnus', London Bridge.</i> a.
<i>St. Benet's, Gracechurch.</i> a.	<i>St. Margaret's, Lothbury.</i> u.
<i>St. Benet's, Paul's Wharf.</i> a.	<i>St. Margaret Pattons.</i> a.
<i>St. Bride's.*</i>	<i>St. Mary's Abchurch.</i> a.

\* These — St. Bride, St. Mary-Le-Bow, St. Michael Cornhill, and St. Stephen's Walbrook, are distinguished by their steeples.

<i>St. Mary's, Aldermanbury.</i> u.	<i>St. Peter's, Cornhill.</i> u.
<i>St. Mary's, Aldermary.</i> a.	<i>St. Sepulchre's.</i> u
<i>St. Mary Le Bow</i> a.	<i>St. Stephen's, Coleman Street.</i> u.
<i>St. Mary Ax Hill.</i> a.	<i>St. Stephen's, Walbrook.</i> a.
<i>St. Mary Magdalen, Old Fish Street.</i> a.	<i>St. Swithin's, Cannon Street.</i> a.
<i>St. Mary's, Somerset.</i> a.	<i>St. Vedast, alias Foster's Church.</i> a.
<i>St. Martin's, Ludgate.</i> u.	The Monument.
<i>St. Matthew's, Friday Street.</i> a.	The Custom House.
<i>St. Michael's, Basinghall.</i>	Winchester Castle.
<i>St. Michael's, Crooked Lane.</i> u.	Hampton Court (the new part).
<i>St. Michael's, Cornhill.</i> u.	Chelsea Hospital.
<i>St. Michael's, Queenhithe.</i> a.	Greenwich Hospital.
<i>St. Michael's Royal.</i> a.	OXFORD. The Theatre, and the great Campanile at Christ Church.
<i>St. Michael's, Wood Street.</i> a.	CAMBRIDGE. Trinity College Library, and the Chapel of Emanuel College.
<i>St. Mildred's, Bread Street.</i> a.	
<i>St. Mildred, Poultry.</i> a.	
<i>St. Nicholas's, Cole Abbey.</i> a.	
<i>St. Olave's, Jewry.</i> a.	

To these may be added the Frontispiece of the Middle Temple near Fleet Street, erected in 1684; and many of the renovations of Westminster Abbey. Beside which, several other designs of buildings were drawn by him, though never carried into execution: particularly, one for re-building the Palace of Whitehall, some time after the Restoration; and two for the same purpose after the fire, by which it suffered in 1697. A large collection of his draughts and designs was purchased by the members of All Souls College, and repositied in several large folios in their library.

He was the author, also, of several pieces (though he printed nothing himself) of which some have been published in the 'Philosophical Transactions,' the 'Parentalia,' &c. and others still remain in manuscript.

*Extract of a Letter to the Right Honourable the  
Lord Brouncker, preparative to his Majesty's  
Entertainment at the Royal Society.*

‘ MY LORD,

‘ Oxon, 1661.

‘ The act and noise at Oxford being over, I retired myself as speedily as I could to obey your Lordship, and contribute something to the collection of experiments designed by the Society for his Majesty's reception. I concluded on something I thought most suitable for such an occasion; but the stupidity of our artists here makes the apparatus so tedious, that I foresee I shall not be able to bring it to any thing within the time proposed. What in the meanwhile to suggest to your Lordship, I cannot guess: the solemnity of the occasion, and my solicitude for the honour of the Society, makes me think nothing proper, nothing remarkable enough. 'Tis not every year will produce such a master-experiment as the Torricellian, and so fruitful of new experiments as that is; and, therefore, the Society have deservedly spent much time upon that and it's offspring: and, if you have any notable experiment that may appear to open new light into principles of philosophy, nothing would better beseeem the pretensions of the Society, though possibly such would be too jejune for this purpose, in which there ought to be something of pomp. On the other side, to produce knacks only and things to raise wonder, such as Kircher, Scottus, and even jugglers abound with, will scarcely become the gravity of the occasion: it must therefore be something between both, luciferous in philosophy, and

yet whose use and advantage is obvious and without a lecture; and, besides, may surprise with some unexpected effect, and be commendable for the ingenuity of the contrivance. Half a dozen of experiments, thus qualified, will be abundantly enough for an hour's entertainment; and I cannot believe the Society can want them, if they look back into their own store. For myself I must profess freely, I have not any thing by me suitable to the idea I have of what ought to be performed before such an assembly. Geometrical problems, and new lines, new bodies, new methods, how useful soever, will be but tasteless in a transient show. New theories, or observations, or astronomical instruments, either for observation or facilitation of the calculus, are valuable to such artists only, who have particularly experimented the defects that these things pretend to supply.

• Sciographical knacks, of which yet a hundred varieties may be given, are so easy in the invention, that **now** they are cheap. Ichnographical, catoptrical, and dioptrical tricks require excellent painting, as well as geometrical truth in the profile, or else they deceive not. Designs of engines for ease of labour, or promoting any thing in agriculture or the trades, I have occasionally thought upon divers; but they are not intelligible without letters and references, and often not without something of demonstration. Designs in architecture, &c. the few chemical experiments I have been acquainted with, will, I fear, be too tedious for an entertainment. Experiments in anatomy, though of ~~the~~ **most** value for their use, are noisome and sordid **to any** but those, whose desire of knowledge makes them digest it. Experiments for the establishment of natural philosophy are seldom pompous: it is

upon billiards and tennis-balls, upon the purling of sticks and tops, upon a vial of water or a wedge of glass, that the great Des Cartes hath built the most refined and accurate theories that human wit ever reached to. And certainly Nature in the best of her works is apparent enough in obvious things, were they but curiously observed; and the key that opens treasures is often plain and rusty, but unless it be gilt, it will make no show at court.

‘ If I have been conversant in philosophical things (as I know how idle I have been) it hath been principally in these ways, which I have recounted to your Lordship, by which your Lordship perceives how useless I am for this service: yet if your Lordship will still pursue me, I know not what shift to make, but to retire back to something I have formerly produced.

‘ I have pleased myself not a little with the play of the Weather-Wheel (the only true way to measure expansions of the air), and I imagine it must needs give others satisfaction, if it were once firmly made; which, I suppose, may be done, if the circular pipes (which cannot be truly blown in glass) were made of brass, by those who make trumpets and sackbutts who wire-draw their pipes through a hole to equal them, and then filling them with melted lead turn them round into what flexures they please. The inside of the pipe must be varnished with china-varnish to preserve it from the quicksilver, and the glasses fixed to it with varnish, which I suppose will be the best cement in the world; for thus the Chinese fix glass and mother of pearl in their works. It would be no displeasing spectacle, to see a man live without new air, as long as you please. A description of the

vessel for cooling and percolating the air at once, I formerly showed the Society, and left in Mr. Boyle's hands. I suppose it worth putting in practice: you will at least learn thus much from it, that something else in air is requisite for life, than that it should be cool only, and free from the fuliginous vapours and moisture it was infected with in expiration; for all those will, in probability, be deposited in it's circulation through the instrument. If nitrous flames be found requisite, as I suspect, ways may possibly be found to supply that too, by placing some benign chemical spirits, that by fuming may infect the air within the vessel.

‘ If an artificial eye were truly and dioptrically made, which I would have at least as big as a tennis-ball, it would represent the picture as nature makes it. The cornea and crystalline must be of glass, the other humours, water. I once surveyed a horse's eye as exactly as I could, measuring what the spheres of the crystalline and cornea were; and what the proportions of the distances of the centres of every sphere were upon the axis. The ways, by which I did it, were too long to rehearse; but the projection in triple the magnitude Sir Paul Neille may possibly find, or if your Lordship think it worth while, I shall reiterate the experiment. A needle, that would play in a coach, will be as well useful to know the coast and way, joined with the way-wiser, as a pleasant diversion to the traveller; and would be an acceptable present to his Majesty, who might thus, as it were, sail by land. The fabric may be thus: In a sphere of glass of two inches diameter, half full of water, cause a short heavy broad needle fixed to a chart to

swim, being buoyed by the chart and both varnished: instead of a cap and pin, let the perforated needle play about a small wire or horse-hair, extended like a perpendicular axis in the glass sphere, whose nadir being made weighty with lead, and an horizon as it were cemented to it, let it play in circles like the compass: then let a hemispherical concave, containing the sphere in it's circles, be hung upon springs after this manner.

‘ Suppose a basis upon which are erected, Firstly, three stiff brass-springs, from the end of which springs are strings strained, forming an equilateral triangle; the middle of whose sides pass through three small loops on the brim of the concave, which therefore hanging on the strings represents a circle inscribed in a triangle. From the middle of the basis arises a worm-spring, fastened by a string to the nadir of the concave, drawing it down a little, and acting against the other three springs. These springs will take off at once, I suppose, much of both the downright and collateral concussions; the circles will take off oscillations, the agitations remaining will be spent in the water, and stilled by the chart: for thus we see, a trencher swimming in a bucket keeps the water from spilling in the carriage; and the Chinese have their compass swimming in water instead of circles.

‘ Lastly, I would have all the bottom of the brass bristled round like a brush, some what inclined, which is a cheap addition, and will ease it like a hundred springs. It should be placed upon the middle of the floor of the coach, where by opening a window you might see likewise the way-wiser on the perch.

My Lord, if my first designs had been perfect, I had

not troubled your Lordship with so much tattle, but with something performed and done; but I am fain in this letter to do like some chemist, who when projection (his fugitive darling) hath left him threadbare, is forced to fall to vulgar preparations to pay his debts.

‘ My Lord,

‘ I am yours, &c.

‘ CHR. WREN.’



ROBERT HARLEY,  
EARL OF OXFORD AND MORTIMER.\*

[1661—1724.]

**ROBERT**, the eldest son of Sir Edward Harley, was born in Bow Street, Covent Garden, London, December 5, 1661, and received his education under the Rev. Mr. Birch at Shilton near Burford in Oxfordshire: which, though a private school, was remarkable for having produced at the same time a Lord High Treasurer, Lord Oxford; a Chancellor, Lord Harcourt; a Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Lord Trevor; and ten members of the House of Commons. Here he laid the foundation of those extensive acquirements, which rendered him subsequently so conspicuous.

At the Revolution, in conjunction with his father, he raised a troop of horse for the service of the Prince of Orange; and after the accession of the new Sovereigns, he was elected Member first for Tregony in Cornwall, and afterward for Radnor in South Wales, which he continued to

\* **Authorities.** Collins' *Lives of the Earls of Oxford*, *Biographia Britannica*, Birch's *Lives*, and Tindal's *Continuation of Rapin*.

represent till he was called up to the House of Lords.

In 1690, he was chosen by ballot one of the nine Commissioners for Stating the Public Accounts; and, also, one of the Arbitrators for uniting the two India Companies. Four years afterward, the Commons appointed him to prepare and bring in a bill, 'For the frequent meeting and calling of parliaments,' which was adopted by both Houses without alteration. In 1702, he was elected Speaker; an honour, which he subsequently received both in the ensuing parliament of King William, and the first of Queen Anne.

In 1704, he was sworn of her Majesty's Privy Council; and soon afterward constituted one of the principal Secretaries of State.\*

In 1706, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the treaty of Union with Scotland; and in 1710, on the dismissal of Earl Godolphin, † Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer. In this situation, he accomplished for Swift, as agent for the Irish prelacy, the grant of the First Fruits and Tithes to the Clergy of Ireland, which had been for many years solicited in vain. Throughout the whole business, he paid a particular attention to the honour of his friend, whom he extremely loved. ‡

\* This office, in which he succeeded Daniel, Earl of Nottingham, he resigned in 1708, under the influence of the intrigues of the Lords Marlborough and Godolphin.

† The fall of this nobleman brought on the removal of all his friends. This accounts for the bitter portrait drawn of Harley by the Duchess of Marlborough in the 'Account of her Conduct,' &c.

‡ See the Extracts.

In 1711, he incurred great danger of his life; the Abbé de la Bourlie\* (commonly called, the Marquis of Guiscard) a Frenchman, while under examination before the Privy Council for high treason, having stabbed him with a penknife.† Upon this, the assassin was committed to Newgate, where he died within a few days. During his confinement he confessed, that 'his intention was to have murdered Mr. St. John (afterward Viscount Bolingbroke) at that time one of the Secretaries of State, on account of his activity in the conviction of one Greg for a treasonable correspondence with France.' Greg and Guiscard were both, it appears, in the pay of that country; and Harley had been the first detector of Greg's designs. The only reason, however, assigned by Guiscard for stabbing the latter, who had changed seats with St. John (so that he could not reach the

\* This man had solicited to be employed against his country in several courts of Europe, obtained at length a commission from Queen Anne, and embarked in an expedition which miscarried. His expectations being disappointed by the new ministry, he endeavoured to make his peace at home by acting here as a spy, and commenced a treasonable correspondence. His letters were intercepted, and produced to him at his examination by Mr. Harley.

† See the Examiner, No. xxxiii. March 15, 1710-11; and 'The true Narrative of what passed at the Examination of the Marquis de Guiscard,' in Swift's Works, iv. 201—222. Swift addressed an extempore tetrastich, upon this flagitious event, to his physician:

‘ On Britain Europe's safety lies;  
 Britain is lost, if Harley dies:  
 Harley depends upon your skill,  
 Think what you save, or what you kill.’

Prior, also, shed some "melodious tears on the same occasion."

latter) was, that ‘ he thought it some satisfaction to kill his dearest friend.\*

An Act of Parliament was soon afterward passed, making it felony without benefit of clergy to attempt the life of a Privy Councillor in the execution of his office; and a clause was inserted, to indemnify all persons who, in assisting to defend Mr. Harley, had given any wound or bruise to the *Sieur de Guiscard*, whereby he received his death. Both Houses of Parliament addressed the Queen upon this occasion, and received from her Majesty an answer, in which she spoke of Mr. Harley’s zeal and fidelity in her service, and his known opposition to Popery and faction, as having instigated the “horrid endeavour.”

He was confined by his wound for several weeks, before he was able to resume his attendance upon his parliamentary duty.

In 1711, with a view of rewarding his exertions, her Majesty created him Baron Harley of **Wigm**ore in the county of Hereford, Earl of **Ox-**ford, and Earl Mortimer; with remainder, in default

\* This sanguinary attempt the dependents of the new ministry, in the ~~libels~~ *libels* of the day, attempted to charge upon the whig-party, who had lately been dismissed from all public employments: but the villain, it was proved, had no connexion with any man of consequence in the kingdom, and was only a common wretch in the service of the French ministry.

By this ‘dearest friend,’ in a letter to Swift, dated August 11, 1714, Harley is thus characterised: “I shall never forgive myself for having trusted, so long, to so much real pride and awkward humility; to an air of such familiar friendship, and a heart so void of all tenderness; to such a temper of engrossing business and power, and so perfect an incapacity to manage one, with ~~such~~ a tyrannical disposition to abuse the other, &c.”

of male issue of his own body, to the heirs male of Sir Robert Harley, K. B., his grandfather.\*

In the same year, likewise, he was appointed Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain; and on his taking the usual oaths, Sir Simon Harcourt, Lord Keeper, made him the following speech :

“ MY LORD,

“ The Queen, who does every thing with the greatest wisdom, has given a proof of it in the honours she has lately conferred on you, which are exactly suited to your deserts and qualifications. My Lord, the title which you now bear could not have been so justly placed on any other of her Majesty’s subjects. Some of that ancient blood, which fills your veins, is derived from the Veres; and you have shown yourself as ready to sacrifice it for the safety of your prince and the good of your country, and as fearless of danger on the most trying occasions, as ever any of that brave and loyal house were. Nor is that title less suited to you, as it carries in it a relation to one of the chief seats of learning; for even your enemies, my Lord, if any such there still are, must own that the love of letters, and the encouragement of those who excel in them, is one distinguishing part of your character.

“ My Lord, the high station of Lord Treasurer of Great Britain, to which her Majesty has called you,

\* Upon this occasion Le Sack, the famous French dancing-master (as Swift related, from the statement of Oxford himself) exclaimed, “ Well, I wonder what the Queen could see in him; for I attended him two years, and he was the greatest dunce that ever I taught.”

is the just reward of your eminent services. You have been the great instrument of restoring public credit, and relieving this nation from the heavy pressure and ignominy of an immense debt, under which it languished; and you are now entrusted with the power of securing us from a relapse into the same ill state, out of which you have rescued us.

“ This great office, my Lord, is every way worthy of you; particularly on the account of those many difficulties, with which the faithful discharge of it must be unavoidably attended, and which require a genius like yours to master them.

“ The only difficulty which even you, my Lord, may find insuperable, is how to deserve better of the crown and kingdom after this advancement, than you did before it.”

That the Earl of Oxford, by his abilities as a financier, merited the appointment which gave birth to these enconiums, his greatest enemies could not deny; but his flatterers, particularly Dean Swift, have hence incorrectly exhibited him as the mirror of ministers. It is no moderate degree of merit to have retrieved the public credit of the nation, which had been reduced to so low an ebb by his predecessors, that Navy Bills and some other public debts (left unprovided for by parliament, and unliquidated) were at 40 *per cent.* discount; and all the contracts made by government for naval stores, provisions, and ammunition were, in consequence, highly disadvantageous to the nation's purse.

The Earl of Oxford put the Navy Bills in course of payment, by the introduction of Exchequer Bills; and, when these fell to a discount of only three *per*

*cent.*, he agreed with the Bank to circulate them at par. He, likewise, granted to the public creditors the exclusive trade to the South Seas, and incorporated them into a Company, of which he was made Governor, in gratitude for his having been their founder and chief director. Upon this occasion Navy Bills rose 20 *per cent.*, and were shortly afterward at only 10 *per cent.* discount. His next care was, to put a stop to the usury of the contractors, and remitters of money to the army: finally, he established parliamentary lotteries.\*

The first important transaction with regard to foreign affairs, in which he was the principal manager, was the Peace of Utrecht. During the negotiating of this Treaty, several representations were made to the Queen against many of its propositions. The House of Lords, in 1712, complained of the disgraceful terms offered by France, and of the insolence of that court in proposing not to acknowledge her Majesty's title to the crown of Great Britain till after the ratification of the peace.

How differently the minister thought of the offered preliminaries, may be collected from the following extract of the speech addressed by the Queen to her parliament on the sixth of June, the same year:

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ The making of peace and war is undoubtedly the prerogative of the crown; yet, such is the just

\* With respect to these, it must be left to the reader's own judgement to determine, whether the reputation of the Earl of Oxford as an able financier is increased, or diminished, by their introduction.

confidence I place in you, that at the opening of this session I acquainted you, that a negotiation for a general peace was begun; and afterward, by messages, I promised to communicate to you the terms of peace before they should be concluded.

“In pursuance of that promise, I now come to let you know, upon what terms that peace may be made.

“I need not mention the difficulties, which arise from the very nature of this affair; and it is but too apparent, that these difficulties have been increased by other obstructions, artfully contrived to hinder this great and good work.

“Nothing, however, hath hindered me from steadily pursuing, in the first place, the true interests of my own kingdoms; and I have not omitted any thing, which might procure to all our allies what is due to them by treaties, and what is necessary for their security.

“The assuring of the Protestant Succession, as by law established in the House of Hanover, to these kingdoms being what I have nearest at heart, particular care is taken, not only to have that acknowledged in the strongest terms, but to have an additional security by the removal of that person out of the dominions of France, who hath pretended to disturb this settlement.

“The apprehensions, that Spain and the West Indies might be united to France, was the chief inducement to begin this war; and the effectual preventing of such an union was the principle, which I laid down at the commencement of this treaty. Former examples, and the late negotiations, sufficiently show how difficult it is to find means to ac-



compish this work. I would not content myself with such as are speculative, or depend on treaties only: I insisted on what was solid, and to that end have at hand the power of executing what should be agreed.

“ I can therefore now tell you, that France at last is brought to offer, ‘ That the Duke of Anjou shall for himself and his descendents renounce for ever all claim to the crown of France;’ and, that this important article may be exposed to no hazard, the performance is to accompany the promise.

“ At the same time, the succession to the crown of France is to be declared, after the death of the present Dauphin and his sons, to be in the Duke of Berri and his sons, in the Duke of Orleans and his sons, and so on to the rest of the House of Bourbon.

“ As to Spain and the Indies, the succession to those dominions, after the Duke of Anjou and his children, is to descend to such prince as shall be agreed on at the treaty, for ever excluding the rest of the House of Bourbon.

“ For confirming the renunciations and settlements before-mentioned, it is farther offered, ‘ that they should be ratified in the most strong and solemn manner, both in France and Spain; and that those kingdoms, as well as all the other powers engaged in the present war, shall be guarantees to the same.’

“ The nature of this proposal is such, that it executes itself: the interest of Spain is to support it; and, in France, the persons to whom that succession is to belong will be ready and powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

France and Spain are now more effectually

divided than ever. And thus, by the blessing of God, will a real balance of power be fixed in Europe, and remain liable to as few accidents as human affairs can be exempted from.

“ A treaty of commerce between these kingdoms and France has been entered upon; but the excessive duties laid on some goods, and the prohibitions of others, make it impossible to finish this work so soon as were to be desired. Care is taken, however, to establish a method of settling this matter; and, in the mean time, provision is made that the same privileges and advantages, as shall be granted to any other nation by France, shall be granted in like manner to us.

“ The division of the island of St. Christopher between us and the French having been the cause of great inconveniency and damage to my subjects, I have demanded to have an absolute cession made to me of the whole island; and France agreeth to this demand.

“ Our interest is so deeply concerned in the trade of North America, that I have used my utmost endeavours to adjust that article in the most beneficial manner. France consenteth to restore to us the whole bay and streights of Hudson, to deliver up the island of Newfoundland with Placentia, and to make an absolute cession of Annapolis with the rest of Nova Scotia or Acadia. The safety of our home-trade will be the better provided for by the demolishing of Dunkirk.

“ Our Mediterranean trade, and the British interest and influence in those parts, will be secured by the possession of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, with the

whole island of Minorca, which are offered to remain in my hands.

“ The trade to Spain and the West Indies may, in general, be settled as it was in the time of the late King of Spain, Charles II.; and a particular provision made, that all advantages, rights, or privileges, which have been granted or may hereafter be granted by Spain to any other nation, shall be in like manner granted to the subjects of Great Britain.

“ But the part, which we have borne in the prosecution of this war, entitling us to some distinction in the terms of peace, I have insisted and obtained, that the *Assiento* (or contract, for furnishing the Spanish West Indies with negroes) shall be made with us for the term of thirty years, in the same manner as it hath been enjoyed by the French for ten years past.

“ I have not taken upon me to determine the interests of our confederates: these must be adjusted in the Congress at Utrecht, where my best endeavours shall be employed, as they have hitherto constantly been, to procure to every one of them all just and reasonable satisfaction. In the mean time, I think it proper to acquaint you, that France offers to make the Rhine the barrier of the empire; to yield Brisac, the forts of Kehl and Landau, and to rase all the fortresses both on the other side of the Rhine and in that river.

“ As to the Protestant interest in Germany, there will be, on the part of France, no objection to the re-settling thereof on the foot of the Treaty of Westphalia.

“ The Spanish Low Countries may go to his Im-

perial Majesty : the kingdom of Naples and Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain on the coast of Tuscany, may likewise be yielded by treaty of peace to the Emperor.

“ As to the kingdom of Sicily, though there remaineth no dispute concerning the cession of it by the Duke of Anjou, yet the disposition thereof is not yet determined.

“ The interests of the States General, with respect to commerce, are agreed to, as they have been demanded by their own ministers, with the exception only of some very few species of merchandise ; and the entire barrier, as demanded by the States in 1709 from France, except two or three places at most.

“ As to these exceptions, several expedients are proposed ; and I make no doubt, but that this barrier may be so settled, as to render that republic perfectly secure against any enterprise on the part of France ; which is the foundation of all my engagements, upon this head, with the States.

“ The demands of Portugal depending upon the disposition of Spain, and that article having been long in dispute, it has not been yet possible to make any considerable progress therein ; but my plenipotentiaries will now have an opportunity to assist that King in his pretensions.

“ Those of the King of Prussia are such as, I hope, will admit of little difficulty on the part of France ; and my utmost endeavours shall not be wanting to procure all I am able to so good an ally.

“ The difference between the barrier demanded for the Duke of Savoy in 1709, and the offers now made by France, is very inconsiderable : but that Prince having so signally distinguished himself in the ser-

vice of the common cause, I am endeavouring to procure for him still greater advantages.

“ France has consented that the Elector Palatine shall continue his present rank among the electors, and remain in possession of the Upper Palatinate.

“ The electoral dignity is likewise acknowledged in the House of Hanover, according to the article inserted, at that Prince’s desire, in my demands.

“ And, as to the rest of the allies, I make no doubt of being able to secure their several interests.”

During the recess of parliament, her Majesty gave a farther testimony of her approbation of the Earl of Oxford for his management of this negotiation, by investing him with the Order of the Garter; and in 1713, nine days before the meeting of parliament, the peace was signed at Utrecht. The communication of this event to both Houses, and afterward to the public, was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy.

But, in the following year, it was discovered that the treaty was highly detrimental to the commerce of Great Britain, especially as it affected the separate arrangement with Spain; and in July, 1714, the House of Lords addressed her Majesty, desiring her to ‘use effectual means to procure such alterations to be made in the same, as might render the Spanish trade beneficial to her subjects.’ The national discontent broke out, in bitter invectives from the press, against the advisers of the peace: want of ability, or of integrity, was laid to the charge of the Lord Treasurer in particular; and this, combined with the apprehensions of a secret design at court to bring in a tender, speedily effected his disgrace. He

was dismissed from his office twenty days after the above address; and the staff was given to the Duke of Shrewsbury, who was at the same time appointed Chamberlain of the Household, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Queen did not long survive this change of her ministry; and, as she had been in a great measure compelled to it by the clamor of her subjects, it was supposed to have hastened her death.

The Earl of Oxford, however, was nominated by George I. one of the Nineteen, who with the seven great Officers of State (agreeably to an Act of the late Queen) were to constitute a Regency, till her successor should be fully seated on the throne.

But on opening the first session of the new parliament, in 1715, his Majesty strongly animadverted on the insecurity and other disadvantages of the late peace, which he termed 'a fatal cessation of arms.' This laid the foundation for an impeachment of the Earl of Oxford, by the Commons, for high treason and other high crimes and misdemeanors; and, on the sixteenth of July, the House of Lords committed him to the Tower. The Duke of Ormond, likewise, Lord Bolingbroke, the Earl of Strafford, and Mr. Prior, who had all participated in advising or negotiating the criminated peace, were impeached at the same time. The two former fled to France; and Strafford and Prior were discharged: but Lord Oxford remained a prisoner in the Tower till the first of July, 1717, when he was brought to his trial in Westminster Hall. The Lords resolving however, as a preliminary measure, that the Commons should make good the two articles of high treason before they proceeded on the numerous charges of high crimes and misdemeanors, and the Commons refusing to assent

to this regulation, a disagreement took place between the two Houses : and the latter, instead of sending their managers to substantiate their charges, abruptly adjourning to the third of July, the Lords after proclamation made three several times for his accusers to appear,\* discharged the Earl from the impeachment, and ordered that he should be immediately set at liberty.\*

His Lordship from this time passed his days in retirement, and in the occasional society of men of letters, to whom he had always been a patron and a friend.

Before he was created a peer, his library was fixed at Wimpole in Cambridgeshire, his usual place of residence, whence he frequently visited his friends at Cambridge. His attachment, indeed, to literature is abundantly evinced by the indefatigable pains which he took, and the immense sums which he expended, in forming what Pope emphatically pronounced ‘one of the finest libraries in Europe.’†

\* Some writers have falsely stated, that ‘he was acquitted by his peers;’ but this is mistaking the case: for the charge was not investigated, nor any evidence produced upon the subject, the difference between the two Houses having put an end to the judicial proceedings.

† His Collection of Manuscripts was purchased by government for 10,000*l.*, and is now deposited in the British Museum. A valuable Catalogue of them, in two volumes folio, was drawn up in 1759, principally by the celebrated Humphry Wanley; and, in 1800, a second was executed in three volumes folio by the Rev. Robert Nares, which Mr. Dibdin (the great authority in bibliography) represents as ‘the most complete that has yet appeared in England.’ His books were sold to Thomas Osborne, a bookseller, for 13,000*l.*; a sum, which must excite the astonishment and the regret of the present age, when it is added that Lord Oxford gave 18,000*l.* for the

He died in May 21, 1724, and left a son, who succeeded him in his honours and estate. His daughter,

binding only of the least part of them! In 1743-4 appeared an account of this Collection in four volumes (the fifth not properly belonging to it) of which the first two were written in Latin by Johnson, and the third and fourth, a repetition of the two former in English, by Oldys; and, "notwithstanding it's defects," says Mr. Dibdin, "it is the best catalogue of a large library of which we can boast." The bibliographer's analysis of the Harleian Library, as extremely curious, is here subjoined:

	Volumes.
Divinity, Greek, Latin, French, and Italian.....	about 2,000
———— English.....	2,500
History and Antiquities, including { Italy..... 600 France..... 500 Spain..... 150 Germany and Holland..... 250 }	4,000
Books of Prints, Sculpture, and Drawings....	articles 20,000
Collection of Portraits.....	10,000
Philosophy, Chemistry, and Medicine, comprehending { Anatomy Astronomy Mathematics Alchemy }	3,100
———— Foreign.....	2,500
———— English.....	600
Geography, Chronology, and { Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish .. 290 General History .....	590
English.....	300
Voyages and Histories relating to the { Foreign 400 East and West Indies..... }	800
English 400	
Greek and Latin Classics, Grammars, and Lexicons ...	2,400
Books printed on vellum: folio, 70 and upward; quarto 40; octavo, 100. ....	220
English Poetry, Romances, and Novels.....	900
Livres Francois, Ital. et Hispan. ....	700
Parliamentary Affairs and Trials.....	400
Trade and Commerce.....	300
Beside fifty one other departments, which at the moderate com-	



who in 1712 married the Marquis of Carmarthen, died in childbed of a son (subsequently, Duke of Leeds) in the following year, aged 28.\*

putation of eighty volumes only in each, amount collectively to 4,080, and according to Mr. Gough 400,000 pamphlets!

Osborne was accused of 'having rated his books, in the Sale-Catalogue, at too high a price.' His reply, or rather Dr. Johnson's, was—"If I have set a high value upon books; if I have vainly imagined literature to be more valuable than it really is, or idly hoped to revive a taste well nigh extinguished, I know not why I should be persecuted with clamor and invective; since I shall only suffer by my mistake, and be obliged to keep those books, which I was in hopes of selling." The fact was, that his charges were extremely moderate; and the sale of the books was so very slow, that Johnson assured Boswell, 'there was not much gained by the bargain.' In his Catalogue of 1748, four years after the Harleian sale, occurs a copy of the Aldine Plato of 1513 upon vellum at twenty guineas, for which Lord Oxford gave a hundred! and some of the scarcest books in English literature at two, or three, or four shillings, for which are now given three times the number of pounds!!

Among other scholars, it may added, the celebrated Ockley, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, was admitted to his table; and there probably, through his inexperience in the more polished attentions of life, committed himself by some mal-a-propos observations. He was charged with "having given such extreme offence by some uncourtly answers to some gentlemen at my Lord Treasurer's table, that it would be in vain to make any farther application to him." From this, as well as the additional charge of sottishness, in an apologetic letter to Harley he fully vindicated himself: and to the honour of his noble patron it should be mentioned, that his convivial clumsiness did not interrupt Harley's regard; for, several years afterward, he valued the correspondence of Ockley.

\* Upon this occasion, Swift addressed the afflicted father in the following consolatory epistle, one of the finest that ever was written:

'My Lord,

Nov. 21, 1713.

'Your Lordship is the person in the world to whom every body ought to be silent upon such an occasion as this, which is

The characters drawn of this great statesman, as to his political accomplishments (for his private life

only to be supported by the greatest wisdom and strength of mind; wherein, God knows, the wisest and best of us, who would presume to offer their thoughts, are far your inferiors. It is true, indeed, that a great misfortune is apt to weaken the mind, and disturb the understanding. This, indeed, might be some pretence to us to administer our consolations, if we had been wholly strangers to the person gone. But, my Lord, whoever had the honour to know her wants a comforter as much as your Lordship: because, though their loss is not so great, yet they have not the same firmness and prudence to support the want of a friend, a patroness, a benefactor, as you have to support that of a daughter. My Lord, both religion and reason forbid me to have the least concern for that lady's death, upon her own account: and he must be an ill Christian, or a perfect stranger to her virtues, who would not wish himself (with all submission to God Almighty's will) in her condition. But your Lordship, who has lost such a daughter, and we who have lost such a friend, and the world which has lost such an example, have in our several degrees greater cause to lament, than perhaps was ever given by any private person before: for, my Lord, I have sat down to think of every amiable quality that could enter into the composition of a lady, and could not single out one, which she did not possess in as high a perfection as human nature is capable of. But as to your Lordship's own particular, ~~as~~ it is an unconceivable misfortune to have lost such a daughter, ~~so~~ it is a possession which few can boast of, to have had such a daughter. I have often said to your Lordship, that "I never knew any one by many degrees so happy in their domestics as you:" and I affirm you are so still, though not by so many degrees; whence it is very obvious, that your Lordship should reflect upon what you have left, and not upon what you have lost.

"To say the truth, my Lord, you began to be too happy for a mortal; much more happy, than is usual with the dispensations of Providence long to continue. You had been the great instrument of preserving your country from foreign and domestic ruin: you have had the felicity of establishing your family in the greatest lustre, without any obligation to the bounty of your

all allow to have been exemplary) are strikingly different. He has been alternately pronounced a fiend or an angel, as hostility or amity held the pen. Lord Bolingbroke, in his 'Letter to Sir William Wyndham,' is an instance of the first, pronouncing him 'a negligent minister, and wholly unequal to his station. Puzzled and embarrassed in conversation, he was constantly (if we may trust the same prejudiced authority) scribbling verses from court to the Scriblerus club (Swift, Arbuthnot, Parnell, and Pope, and sometimes Gay), frequented their parties almost every night, and would engage in idle talk even on the crisis of the most important concerns.' The following lines of Pope no less verify the last :

' And sure, if aught below the seats divine  
Can touch immortals, 'tis a soul like thine :  
A soul supreme, in each hard instance tried,  
Above all pain, all anger, and all pride ;  
The rage of power, the blast of public breath,  
The lust of lucre, and the dread of death,

prince, or any industry of your own : you have triumphed over the violence and treachery of your enemies, by your courage and abilities ; and, by the steadiness of your temper, over the inconstancy and caprice of your friends. Perhaps, your Lordship has felt too much complacency within yourself, upon this universal success ; and God Almighty, who would not disappoint your endeavours for the public, thought fit to punish you with a domestic loss, where he knew your heart was most exposed ; and at the same time has fulfilled his own wise purpose by rewarding, in a better life, that excellent creature he has taken from you.'

' I know not, my Lord, why I write this to you, nor hardly what I am writing. I am sure, it is not from any compliance with form ; it is not from thinking, that I can give your Lordship any ease. I think it was an impulse upon me, that I should say something ; and whether I shall send you what I have written, I am yet in doubt, &c.'

In vain to deserts thy retreat is made ;  
 The muse attends thee to thy silent shade :  
 'Tis hers the brave man's latest steps to trace,  
 Re-judge his acts, and dignify disgrace.  
 When interest calls off all her sneaking train,  
 And all th' obliged desert, and all the vain ;  
 She waits or to the scaffold, or the cell,  
 When the last lingering friend has bid farewell.  
 E'en now, she shades thy evening walk with bays,  
 No hireling she, no prostitute of praise :  
 E'en now, observant of the parting ray,  
 Eyes the calm sun-set of thy various day ;  
 Through fortune's cloud one truly great can see,  
 Nor fears to tell that MORTIMER is he.\*

The reader will perhaps not be displeased to read the more qualified panegyric of Dean Swift : † ‘ The Earl of Oxford is a person of as much virtue, as can possibly consist with the love of power ; and his love of power is no greater, than what is common to men of his superior capacities : neither did any man ever

\* These beautiful lines form part of a Poetical Epistle, which Pope addressed to Lord Oxford in 1721 with a copy of Parnell's Poems and a prose letter, requesting permission to dedicate to him that work.—“ All I shall say for it (he adds) is, that 'tis the only dedication I ever writ, and shall be the only one, whether you accept it or not : for I will not bow the knee to a less man than my Lord Oxford, and I expect to see no greater in my time.” To this Lord Oxford, among other things, said in reply :—“ You ask my consent, &c. To what straits doth this reduce me ! I look back, indeed, to those evenings I have usefully and pleasantly spent with Mr. Pope, Mr. Parnell, Dean Swift, the Doctor (Arbuthnot) &c. I should be glad the world knew you admitted me to your friendship ; and, since your affection is too hard for your judgement, I am contented to let the world know how well Mr. Pope can write upon a barren subject.”

† Who addressed to him his ‘ Proposal for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English Tongue.’

of others, except toward the end of his ministry. He was affable and courteous, extremely easy and agreeable in conversation, and altogether disengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety; nor ever guilty of any expressions, that could possibly tend to what was indecent or profane. His imperfections were at least as obvious, although not so numerous, as his virtues. He had an air of secrecy in his manner and countenance, by no means proper for a great minister, because it warns all men to prepare against it. He often gave no answer at all, and very seldom a direct one: and I the rather blame this reservedness of temper, because I have known a very different practice succeed much better; of which, among others, the late Earl of Sunderland, and the present Lord Somers, persons of great abilities, are remarkable instances, who used to talk in so frank a manner that they seemed to discover the bottom of their hearts, and by that appearance of confidence, would easily unlock the breasts of others. But the Earl of Oxford pleads, in excuse of this charge, ~~that~~ 'he hath seldom or never communicated any ~~thing~~ which was of importance to be concealed, wherein he hath not been deceived by the vanity, treachery, or indiscretion of those he discovered it to.' Another of his imperfections, universally known and complained of, was procrastination or delay;\* which was, doubtless, natural to him, although he often bore the blame without the guilt, and when the remedy was not in his power; for never were prince

\* "The greatest minister I ever knew," says Swift in his 'Treatise on Good Manners, &c.,' "was the greatest trespasser against punctuality; by which all his business doubled upon him, and placed him in a continual arrear."

and minister better matched than his sovereign and he upon that article; and therefore, in the disposal of employments, wherein the Queen was very absolute, a year would often pass before they could come to a determination. I remember he was, likewise, heavily charged with the common court-vice, of promising very liberally and seldom performing; of which, although I cannot altogether acquit him, yet I am confident his intentions were generally better than his disappointed solicitors would believe. It may be likewise said of him, that he certainly did not value, or did not understand, the art of acquiring friends; having made very few during the time of his power, and contracted a great number of enemies. Some of us used to observe, that ‘those whom he talked well of, or suffered to be often near him, were not in a situation of much advantage; and that his mentioning others with contempt, or dislike, was no hindrance at all to their preferment.’ I have dwelt the longer upon this great man’s character, because I have observed it so often mistaken by the wise reasoners of both parties: besides, having had the honour, for almost four years, of a nearer acquaintance with him than usually happens to men of my level, and this without the least mercenary obligation, I thought it lay in my power, as I am sure it is in my will, to represent him to the world with impartiality and truth.’

He wrote ‘An Essay upon Public Credit,’ inserted in the ‘Somers Tracts;’ and to him, also, are ascribed the ‘Essay upon Loans,’ and the ‘Vindication of the Rights of the Commons of England,’ signed “Humphrey Mackworth.” Several of his Letters are preserved in the Harleian MSS.; and a

few jocular verses, in the Correspondence between Swift and his Friends.

“Oxford,” says Mr. Archdeacon Coxe, “was unimpeachable in his private character, never offending against morality either in conversation or action, a tender husband, and a good father, highly disinterested and generous. He prided himself in his high descent, was stiff and formal in his deportment, and forbidding in his manner. He was learned and pedantic; embarrassed and inelegant both in speaking and writing. He was equally an enemy to pleasure and business, extremely dilatory, and fond of procrastination; timid in public affairs, yet intrepid when his own person was concerned; jealous of power, indefatigable in promoting the petty intrigues of the court, but negligent in things of importance, a whig in his heart and a tory from ambition; too ready for temporary convenience to adopt measures he disapproved, yet unwilling wholly to sacrifice his real sentiments to interest or party; affecting the most profound secrecy in all political transactions, and mysterious in the most trifling occurrences. He was liberal in making promises, yet breaking them without scruple; a defect, which arose more from facility of temper than from design. He corresponded at the same time with the dethroned family and the house of Hanover, and was therefore neither trusted, nor respected, by either party. The only point, in which he and his colleague Bolingbroke agreed, was the love of literature and the patronage of learned men, which rendered their administration eminently illustrious.”

## EXTRACTS.

*Letter to Dean Swift just before the loss of his Staff.**' July 27, 1714.*

' IF I tell my dear friend the value I put upon his undeserved friendship, it will look like suspecting you or myself. Though I have had no power since July 25, 1713, I believe now as a private man, I may prevail to renew your licence of absence, conditionally you will be present with me; for to-morrow morning I shall be a private person. When I have settled my domestic affairs here, I go to Wimpole; thence, alone, to Herefordshire. If I have not tired you, *tête-a-tête*, sling away so much time upon one who loves you. And, I believe, in the mass of souls ours were placed near each other. I send you an imitation of Dryden, as I went to Kensington:

' To serve with love  
And shed your blood,  
Approved is above :  
But here below  
Th' examples show,  
'Tis fatal to be good.'

*' Aug. 6, 1717.*

' Two years' retreat has made me taste the conversation of my dearest friend with a greater relish, than even at the time of my being charmed with it in our frequent journeys to Windsor. Three of your letters have come safe to my hands: the first about two years since (that, my son keeps as a family-monument); the other two arrived since the first of July. My heart is often with you; but I delayed



writing, in expectation of giving a perfect answer about my going to Brampton: but the truth is, the warmth of rejoicing in these parts is so far from abating, that I am persuaded by my friends to go into Cambridgeshire, where you are too just not to believe you will be welcome before any one in the world. The longing, your friends have to see you must be submitted to the judgement yourself makes of all circumstances. At present, this seems to be a cooler climate, than your island is likely to be when they assemble, &c. Our impatience to see you should not draw you into uneasiness. We long to embrace you, if you find it may be of no inconvenience to yourself.'

## SIR ISAAC NEWTON.\*

[1642—1726.]

**MR. ISAAC NEWTON**, the father of the Philosopher, was descended from an ancient family, which resided successively at Newton in Lancashire, and Westby and Woolsthorpe in Lincolnshire. At the latter place, a hamlet of Colsterworth, this prodigy of philosophical learning was born on Christmas Day, 1642, about three months after his father's death.

Two years afterward, his mother (a lady of an ancient family of the name of Ayscough) engaged in a second marriage, by which she had three other children. Being a woman of good sense, she did not neglect to take a becoming care of her son's education. At twelve years of age, she put him to the Grammar School at Grantham, where he was remarked for his mechanical inventions and models; having even discovered a rude method of estimating the course of the wind, by observing how much farther he could leap in it's direction than the contrary way. But, as his mother did not intend to breed him a scholar, after he had remained there some

\* **AUTHORITIES.** *Biographia Britannica*, Pemberton's '*Review of Newton's Philosophy*,' Birch's '*History of the Royal Society*,' and Whiston's *Memoirs*.

years, she took him home, that he might betimes become interested in his own affairs, and be the sooner able to manage them himself. Upon trial, however, he showed so little disposition to turn his thoughts that way, and at the same time attached himself so closely to his studies, that on the suggestion of an uncle of his, a clergyman, she thought it best to send him back to Grantham; whence, at eighteen years of age, he removed to Trinity College, Cambridge, where his uncle above-mentioned had been a member, and still retained many friends.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the study of the mathematics had been introduced into that University. The elements of geometry and algebra thenceforth became, generally, one branch of a tutor's lectures; and Newton, on his admission, found Mr. (afterward Dr.) Barrow Fellow of his College. Mr. Lucas, also, dying shortly afterward, left by his will an appointment for founding his mathematical lecture, which was settled in 1663, and honoured by Barrow as its first Professor.

Newton therefore, by turning his thoughts to mathematical studies, seems to have complied at once with his own particular passion, and the general taste of the place; with a genius however infinitely superior to all who had gone before him, or who have followed.

In his outset, he took up Euclid's 'Elements;' and after once running his eye over it, became master of every proposition. The youthful vigour of his understanding would not suffer him coolly to contemplate the singular excellence of that author's mode of demonstration, by which the whole series and

connexion of the truths advanced is continually kept in view. This neglect he discovered, and lamented, in his riper age: but his ingenuousness in confessing to Dr. Pemberton an error, which otherwise nobody could have surmised, and that too after he was equally full of years and honours, was in him only a slender instance of the most amiable simplicity of disposition.

The truth is, when he first went to Cambridge, the popular theorist was Des Cartes, who had greatly extended the bounds of algebra in the way of expressing geometrical lines by algebraical equations, and had thus introduced a new method of treating geometry.

This new analytical way Newton speedily examined, and appreciated; but having sounded the depth of that author's understanding, without feeling the extent of his own, he proceeded to read those pieces of Dr. Wallis which were then printed, and particularly his '*Arithmetica Infinitorum.*' Here he first found what set his boundless talents to work, and led him by degrees to the invention of his '*New Method of Infinite Series and Fluxions,*' which after about two years' close application to the best mathematical writers then extant, he published in 1665.

About this period he observed, that the principal Professors were busied in making improvements upon telescopes; and he threw aside all abstract speculations, to engage in this more useful study.

Des Cartes in his '*Dioptrics,*' the best of his philosophical performances, conceiving that light was homogeneous, had upon this principle first discovered the laws of refraction, and demonstrated that 'the

perfecting of telescopes depended upon grinding the glasses in elliptic, parabolic, or hyperbolic figures.'

This set the most eminent Englishmen to work, among others Mr. (afterward Sir Christopher) Wren, who had recently made considerable advances toward completing what was thought so useful an invention.

Mr. Newton therefore, whose private affairs had for a short time drawn him into Lincolnshire, on his return to college in 1666 applied himself to the grinding of optic glasses, under the popular conviction of the homogeneity of light. He next procured a glass prism, in order to try the celebrated phenomena of colours, not long before discovered by Grimaldi; and was highly delighted at first with viewing the vivid brightness of the colours produced by this experiment. He was surprised, however, to see in an oblong form what, according to the received rule of refractions, ought to have been circular. At first, he thought the irregularity might possibly be accidental; but this was a question, which he could not quit without farther satisfaction. He, therefore, presently invented an infallible method of deciding it, and this produced his 'New Theory of Light and Colours.'

But the theory alone, unexpected and surprising as the discovery was, did not satisfy him; he rather considered the use, to which it might be converted for the improving of telescopes, his primary object. To this end, having now discovered light to be an heterogeneous mixture of differently-refrangible rays, he computed the errors thence arising; and finding them greatly to exceed those occasioned by the circular figure of the glasses, he laid aside his glass-

works, and took the subject of reflexions into consideration.

He now understood that optical instruments might be brought to any imaginable degree of perfection, provided a reflecting substance could be discovered, which would polish as finely as glass, reflect as much light as glass transmits, and admit of being ground to a parabolic figure. These conditions appeared to him to involve difficulties almost insuperable; particularly when he farther considered, that every irregularity in a reflecting superficies makes the rays deviate five or six times more from their due course, than similar irregularities in a refracting one.

Amidst these thoughts, he was driven from Cambridge by the plague; and more than two years elapsed, before he made any farther progress on the subject. Far, however, from wasting his hours in the retirement of the country, he there first started the hint which gave rise to his immortal work, the '*Principia*.'

The consideration of accelerated motion in the Method of Fluxions above-mentioned, which he was still improving, unavoidably led his thoughts to the subject of Gravity, the effect of which is an instance of that motion in nature. The fall of an apple, as he was sitting alone in his garden, is usually represented as the proximate cause of his important series of inquiries. This power not being sensibly diminished at the greatest distance from the centre of the earth to which we can rise, he concluded that it must extend much farther than was usually thought; perhaps to the moon; and, if so, her motion must be influenced by it: probably, she is retained by it in her orbit though at her distance it may differ

greatly in efficacy from that which it exerts near the surface.

To estimate the degree of this diminution, he considered that if the moon be retained in her orbit by the force of gravity, the primary planets are undoubtedly retained in theirs by a similar power; and by comparing the several periods with the intervals by which they are respectively separated from the sun, he found that upon his hypothesis that force must vary in the inverse duplicate proportion of the distances.

This he inferred, by supposing them to move round the sun in circles, from which indeed their orbits, in general, do not greatly differ. But as he adopted the erroneous estimate of the day, which allotted only 60 English instead of  $69\frac{1}{4}$  miles to a degree, he was led into conclusions so inaccurate, that he laid aside for some time all farther inquiries.\*

This calm abandonment of a favourite theory, founded upon the best astronomical observations of the planetary system, is an illustrious proof of a temper admirably fitted for philosophical inquiries. By Voltaire it is recorded, as an anecdote of particular use in the history of the human mind; showing at once, both the exactness necessary in these sciences, and the disinterestedness of Newton in his search after truth.

In 1667, he was chosen Fellow of his College, and took the degree of M. A. His thoughts were now again engaged upon his reflecting telescope,

\* It is indeed not a little surprising, that he should be unacquainted with Norwood's 'Mensuration,' which had been made in 1635 and still more so, that he did not inform himself of it, when he returned to Cambridge shortly afterward.

which he was anxious to complete; and in 1668, having considered Mr. Gregory's suggestion (in his *Optica Promota*) of a hole in the midst of the object-metal to transmit the light to an eye-glass placed behind it, he resolved first, as an improvement upon this design, to place the eye-glass at the side of the tube rather than in it's middle: he then made a small instrument, with an object-metal spherically concave. This, however, was merely a rude essay, as he wanted a good polish for the metal. But his inquiries upon the subject were interrupted by Dr. Barrow's resigning to him the Mathematical Chair at Cambridge in November, 1669.

In the mean time, an unexpected occasion drew from him a discovery of the great improvement, which he had made in geometry by the help of his new analysis.

Lord Brouncker, President of the Royal Society, had published in the preceding year a quadrature of the hyperbola in an infinite series; which, with the help of Dr. Wallis' division, was soon afterward demonstrated by Mr. Nicholas Mercator, in his '*Logarithmo-technica*,' in 1668.

This book presently came into the hands of Dr. Barrow, then at Trinity College, Cambridge; who, recollecting that he had previously seen in Newton's writings a similar series, more generally comprehending all sorts of curves, communicated to him Mercator's invention: upon the sight of which, Newton immediately produced his papers containing the '*Analysis per æquationes numero terminorum infinitas*.'

The Doctor, amazed at the performance, instantly transmitted an account of it to his friend



Mr. Collins; at whose request, he subsequently obtained the author's leave to send him the manuscript itself. Collins took a copy of it before he returned it to the owner, and thus enabled himself to communicate other transcripts to the most eminent of his mathematical acquaintance. Notwithstanding this, however, it was not till many years afterward, that the full extent of the invention was accurately understood.

It was natural (according to M. Fontenelle) to expect that Newton, upon seeing Mercator's book, would have been forward to open his treasure, and thus to secure to himself the glory of being the first discoverer. But this was not his way of thinking: on the contrary, we know from his own words, that he thought Mercator had entirely discovered his secret, or that others would do so before he was of a proper age to address the public. The empty character of doing what nobody else could do, he looked upon as a child's bauble: his views were far higher, and more extensive; his fame he wished to rest upon a more substantial foundation.

These speculative inventions therefore, however ingenious, were kept by him as necessary tools and implements in his researches into the works of Nature. There, he knew, they would be of use to him; and he knew too how to use them there to advantage: in these views, indeed, only it was, that he set any particular value upon them. Nay, he was now actually making this use of them, in discovering the properties of Light.

As his thoughts had been for some time chiefly employed upon Optics, he made his discoveries in that science the subject of his lectures for the three

first years after he was appointed Mathematical Professor.

Previously to his finishing these lectures, he was chosen Fellow of the Royal Society in January, 1671-2;\* when, having now brought his theory of Light and Colours to great perfection, he communicated it to his new colleagues. It was subsequently published in their 'Transactions,' February, 1672.

Notwithstanding all these precautions, however, in preparing it for public view, it was so entirely new, and demanded such a degree of accuracy in making the experiments upon which it was founded, and such a subtilty of reasoning also upon those experiments, that it encountered opposers wherever it made it's appearance.

He was thus unexpectedly drawn into various disputes, which gave him considerable annoyance. From this specimen, he clearly inferred what would be the consequence of giving the rest of his theory, where he knew there must appear so many yet more astonishing truths. He, therefore, laid aside his Op-

Lectures, after having prepared them for the press with the design of publication. He had read, it appears, for some of their demonstrations, to his 'Analysis by Infinite Series;' and his intention was, that the lectures should be accompanied by that work: for which purpose he had revised, enlarged, and remoulded it. He had, likewise, illustrated it with a great variety of examples, and set

\* It is a remarkable circumstance, that by an Order of Council, dated January 28, 1674-5, he was excused from making the usual weekly payment of one shilling, on his own representation of his indigence!

the whole Method of Fluxions in a new light. He had not, however, completed his design, when the decree against publication was passed.

In this determination, he evidently acted against his own fame. But that motive had little weight with him, when thrown into the balance against the enjoyment of unruffled serenity; a blessing, which he justly valued above all the glory, which mathematics or philosophy could confer.

In this disposition of mind he resumed the consideration of his Reflecting Telescope, the most immediately useful part of his Optics: and observing that there was no absolute necessity for the parabolic figure of the glasses, since metals accurately spherical would bear as great apertures as could be polished, he completed another instrument of the same kind; which, though only six inches long, exhibited Jupiter distinctly round, as also his four satellites, and Venus horned. This he sent to the Royal Society at their request, with a description of it, which appeared in their 'Transactions' for 1672.

There are likewise, in the two immediately subsequent numbers (82 and 83) several farther observations relative to this new invention, communicated by him with the view of seconding the design of the Society, who wished to recommend it to some skillful artists for farther improvement, with respect to the two particulars still wanting, a proper composition of metal and a good polish. But their attempts, unfortunately, failed of success. The invention in consequence lay dormant, till Hadley made his Newtonian Telescope in 1723.

The same year he published, at Cambridge, '*Bernardi Varenii Geographia Generalis, in qua Affec-*

*tiones Generales Telluris explicantur, aucta et illustrata ab Is. Newton.\**

About the same time, likewise, he had some thoughts of publishing Kinckhuysen's 'Algebra,' but he subsequently dropped his design.

From this period till 1679, he maintained a correspondence by letters with Oldenburg (Secretary of the Royal Society), John Collins, Flamsteed, and Dr. Halley, upon a variety of curious and useful subjects.

In 1675, Mr. Hooke laying claim to some of his discoveries in his 'New Theory of Light and Colours,' he asserted his right with a becoming spirit; and the following year, at the request of M. Leibnitz, he wrote two letters† to be communicated to him, explanatory of his invention of Infinite Series, in which he also stated how far he had improved it by his 'Method of Fluxions:' but the method itself he still concealed, by transposing into an alphabetical order the letters which constituted its two fundamental problems. This was done, that he might be at liberty slightly to alter his method, if any other should find it out.

In 1676-7, he discovered the grand proposition that, 'by a centripetal force varying inversely as the square of the distance, a planet must revolve in an ellipse about a centre of force placed in one of the foci, and with radii drawn to that centre describe areas proportional to the times.'

In 1680, he made several astronomical observations upon the Comet, which then appeared; and

\* This edition was reprinted in 1687, and at a later period with large additions (chiefly from Newton's papers) by Dr. Jurin.

† Inserted in Collins' 'Commercium Epistolicum.'

which for some time, against the opinion of Mr. Flamsteed, he regarded as two different bodies of that description.

The consequences of the theory of centripetal and centrifugal forces becoming about this time the subject of much inquiry, he received a letter from Mr. Hooke, explaining what must be the line described by a falling body, supposed to be moved circularly by the diurnal motion of the earth, and perpendicularly by the power of gravity. This led him to inquire, what would be the real figure in which such a body must move, in the prosecution of which he resumed his former investigation concerning the moon: and Picart having in 1679 accurately explored the measure of a degree, he was now enabled to ascertain, that this body was retained in her orbit merely by the power of gravity. Hence it appeared, that this power also varies, like that which influences the other planets, in the inverse duplicate proportion of the distance, as he had formerly conjectured.

Upon the same principle, he determined the line described by a falling body to be an ellipse, the centre of the earth being one of it's foci. Perceiving now that his inquiry, undertaken at first out of mere curiosity, might be applied to the noblest purposes, he drew up several propositions relative to the motion of those planets about the sun, which were communicated to the Royal Society about the end of 1683. These falling under the eye of Dr. Halley, that illustrious astronomer took a journey to Cambridge in August, 1684, in order to consult Mr. Newton; and learning from him, that he had absolutely completed the much-desired demonstration, made him a second visit for the purpose of procuring

his consent (which he did with some difficulty) to have it entered in the register-books of the Royal Society. After which, by his guest's importunity, and at the request of that Society, he was induced to finish the work.

The third book was at the same time drawn up by him in a popular way, to be published along with the other two: but the manuscript being presented with a dedication to the Royal Society in April, 1686, Mr. Hooke injuriously insisted on his having previously demonstrated Kepler's problem himself; upon which with a modesty scarcely less than his genius, to avoid the risk of controversy, the author determined to suppress it. And even when his friends prevailed upon him to alter his resolution, he chose not to let it go abroad without strict demonstration.\*

\* The book was put to the press by the Society soon after Midsummer, 1686, under the care of Dr. Halley, then Assistant Secretary; and made it's appearance about Midsummer, 1687, under the title of '*Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*'. Hence it appears that this treatise, full as it is of various and profound inventions, was composed from scarcely any other materials than the few propositions before-mentioned, in the short space of only eighteen months!

The second edition, with great improvements was printed in 1713, under the direction of Mr. Roger Cotes, the Cambridge Professor of Astronomy and Experimental Philosophy, who in a learned preface gave an account of the philosophy contained in the book, especially with regard to the famous vortices of Des Cartes.

Another edition was given by two learned foreign Jesuits, MM. Le Bour and Jacquier, who thought it necessary to establish their orthodoxy at the expense of their consistency and veracity, by prefixing to the first part of the third volume the subjoined singular declaration:

*Newtonus in hoc tertio libro telluris motæ hypothesim assumit. Quædam propositiones aliter explicari non poterant, nisi eadem*

This book, in which a new system of Natural Philosophy was constructed upon the most sublime geometry, did not at first meet with all the applause which it was one day justly to receive. Des Cartes had, at that time, gained full possession of the human mind. His Philosophy was indeed the creature of a fine imagination, gaily dressed in a tempting metaphorical stile; he had given her likewise some of Nature's true features, and painted the rest to a seeming of her likeness; while whatever she uttered appeared to be easily understood. Hence, the world, in general, resented the attempt to awaken them out of so pleasing a dream.

On the other hand, Newton had with unparalleled sagacity pursued Nature up to her most secret abodes; and anxious rather to demonstrate her residence to others, than to point out the way by which he had arrived at it himself, had finished his piece with that elegant conciseness, which justly gained the ancients universal esteem. The consequences, indeed, flow with such rapidity from the principles, that the reader is often left to supply a long chain to connect them. required, therefore, some time before the world could understand it: the best mathematicians were obliged to study it with care; and those of a lower class did not venture upon it, till encouraged by the testimonies of the learned. When, however, it's worth be-

*quoque factâ hypothesi. Hinc alienam coacti sumus gerere personam. Ceterum latis à Summis Pontificibus contra telluris motum Decretis nos obsequi profitemur!! Ah! imprudent Galileo!*

The select portions of the '*Principia*' published at Cambridge in 1765 by Jebb, &c. *cum notis variorum*, and the late Bishop Horsley's edition of all Newton's works, in 5 vols. 4to. in 1784, ought here also to be mentioned.

came sufficiently known, nothing was to be heard from all quarters, but one general shout of admiration.\*

“Does Mr. Newton eat, or drink, or sleep like other men?” said the Marquis l’Hôpital, one of the most illustrious men of the age, to the English who visited him; “I represent him to myself as a celestial genius, entirely disengaged from matter.”

In the midst of these profound researches, just before his ‘*Principia*’ went to the press, the privileges of the University being attacked by James II., who had sent a *mandamus* to admit Father Francis (an ignorant Benedictine monk) to the degree of M.A., Newton appeared among their most hearty vindicators, and was accordingly appointed one of the Delegates to the High Commission Court; where the defence they made was so unexpected, that his Majesty thought proper to drop the affair. After this, he was chosen one of the University-representatives in the Convention Parliament in 1688, in which he sate till its dissolution.

Charles Montagu, subsequently Earl of Halifax, likewise for the first time in that assembly; and, having been educated at the same college, and therefore well knowing Newton’s abilities, upon undertaking the great work of re-coining the money, as Chancellor of the Exchequer obtained for him, in 1696, the office of Warden of the Mint. This post enabled him to render signal services to the nation in that important affair; and three years afterward, he was

\* To this Dr. S. Clarke’s version of the ‘*Physics*’ of Rohault, though that author was a Cartesian, did not a little contribute. See his Life.



appointed Master of the Mint, a place worth nearly 1500*l. per ann.*, which he held till his death.

Upon this promotion he appointed Mr. Whiston, M. A. of Clare Hall, his deputy in the mathematical professorship at Cambridge, gave him the full profits of the place, and eventually procured him to be chosen his successor.

The Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris having this year, by a new regulation, agreed to admit foreigners into that Society, Mr. Newton was immediately elected a member.

In 1699, he edited Dr. Barrow's 'Optical Lectures,' in quarto.

In 1703, he was chosen President of the Royal Society; and retained that honourable station to the time of his death.

In 1704, he published, at London, his 'Optics; or, a Treatise of the Reflexions, Refractions, Inflexions, and Colours of Light.' He had been occasionally employed for thirty years, in bringing the experiments to a satisfactory degree of certainty. In reality, this seems to have been his favourite invention.

In the speculations of Infinite Series and Fluxions, as also in his demonstrations of the power of Gravity as affecting the Solar System, there had been some distant hints given by others before him: whereas, in discovering that a ray of light was separable into different particles, each having a different refrangibility and a peculiar colour; that rays falling in the same angle of incidence have alternate fits of reflexion and refraction; that bodies are rendered transparent by the minuteness, and opaque by the largeness, of their pores; and that the most transparent body, by great

attenuation, becomes less pervious in all these, which made up his 'New Theory of Light and Colours,' he was entirely the first inventor: and, as the subject is of the most delicate nature, he thought it necessary to be himself likewise the last finisher of it.

But his assiduous researches for so many years were far from being exclusively confined to the subject of Light: on the contrary, they seemed to comprehend all that we know of natural bodies. He had discovered, that there was a mutual action at a distance between light and other substances; by which the reflexions and refractions, as well as the inflexions, of the former were constantly produced. To ascertain the force and extent of this principle long engaged his thoughts, and after all by it's extreme subtilty eluded even his penetration. Though unsuccessful, however, in his inquiries, he gave the best directions possible for their future prosecution, and furnished abundant matter to animate the pursuit. He has, indeed, laid open a way of passing from optics to an entire system of physics; and, if we look upon his 'Queries' as containing the history of a great man's first thoughts, even in that view alone they must appear highly entertaining and curious.

He was most anxious, that their true meaning should be rightly understood; which was, to furnish motives to farther investigations, without presuming to determine any thing themselves: and, when Dr. Freind, a few years afterward, published his 'Lectures in Chemistry,' and in explaining the phenomena of chemical experiments assumed that attraction as a principle which in the 'Queries' was only started as a conjecture, Newton complained of the circumstance as an injury. Upon the same account, in the

advertisement prefixed to the 'Optics,' he expressed a desire that the volume might not be translated into Latin without his consent; and, when Dr. Clarke (who, to prevent others, immediately undertook it with his approbation) presented to him the manuscript, he was so much pleased with it's elegance and fidelity, that he gave him 500*l.* in acknowledgement of his service.\*

The first edition of Newton's 'Optics' was accompanied with his 'Quadrature of Curves by his New Analysis;' to which he subjoined 'An Enumeration of the Lines of the Third Order,' both comprehended under the following title, '*Tractatus duo de Speciebus et Magnitudine Figurarum Curvilinearum.*' This was the first appearance, in print, of his Method of Fluxions. It was apparently finished upon the plan of his original intention in 1671. He had declined at that time to publish it, on account of a controversy, and it unfortunately proved the occasion of drawing him into one at present.

In 1705, Queen Anne conferred upon him the honour of knighthood.

In 1707, Mr. Whiston, by his permission, published his algebraical lectures, under the title of '*Arithmetica Universalis, sive de Compositione et Resolutione Arithmetice Liber:*' and from this edition it was translated into English by Mr. Ralphson†.

\* This translation was printed at London in 1706, and as a second edition of the original with improvements appeared in 1718, re-printed in 1719. Mr. Peter Coste translated it into French from the second edition, in two volumes, 12mo., which were again published at Paris in 1722.

† A second edition having been printed by the author with improvements, under the care of Mr. Machin, Professor of Astronomy at Gresham College and Secretary to the Royal So-

This work was another specimen of his unparalleled genius; he called it ‘Universal Arithmetic,’ as Dr. Pemberton informs us, in opposition to the injudicious title of ‘Geometry,’ which Des Cartes had previously bestowed upon a treatise intended to prove how the geometer may assist his invention by such kinds of computations.

In 1711, Newton’s ‘*Analysis per Quantitatum Series, Fluxiones, et Differentias, cum Enumeratione Linearum Tertii Ordinis,*’ was published in London, by William Jones, Esq. F.R.S.\* He had met, it appears, with a copy of the first of these pieces among the papers of Mr. Collins, to whom (as already mentioned) it had been communicated by Dr. Barrow in 1669.

This publication was occasioned by the dispute about the invention of the Method of Fluxions, which likewise gave birth to a work undertaken with the consent of Sir Isaac, and printed the following year, under the title of, ‘*Commercium Epistolicum D. Johannis Collins et aliorum, de Analysisi promotâ, jussu Societatis Regiæ in lucem editum.*†

ciety, Ralphson’s translation was revised and corrected by Mr. Cunn; and republished, with farther additions and annotations, in two volumes, 8vo., by Dr. Wilder of Trinity College, Dublin. A Latin edition of the same Work, with a commentary by Castilio, subsequently appeared at Amsterdam, in two volumes, 4to.

\* Father of Sir William Jones, ever to be lamented, ever to be honoured.

† Of this book a most precise and correct account was given (most probably, by Newton himself) in the Philosophical Transactions for 1714, xxix.; which is reprinted in the able Abridgement of them by Drs. Hutton, Shaw, and Pearson, vi. 116—153. No. 342.

As M. Leibnitz was Privy Councillor of Justice to the Elector

In 1714, Messrs. Ditton and Whiston having proposed a 'New Method of Discovering the Longitude at Sea by Signals,' it was laid before the House of Commons for their consideration and patronage : upon which a Committee was appointed to examine the matter, who on application to Sir Isaac Newton for his opinion immediately received from him the following paper :

" For determining the Longitude at sea there have been several projects, true in theory, but difficult to execute :

" I. One is by a Watch, to keep time exactly ; but, by reason of the motion of a ship, the variation of heat and cold, wet or dry, and the difference of gravity in different latitudes, such a watch hath not yet been made :

" II. Another is by the Eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites ; but, by reason of the length of telescopes necessary to observe them, and the motion of a ship at sea, those eclipses cannot yet be there observed :

" III. A third is, by the Place of the Moon ; but her theory is not yet exact enough for that purpose ; it is exact enough to determine the Longitude within two or three degrees, but not within a degree :

" IV. A fourth is Mr. Ditton's project ; and this is rather for keeping an account of the Longitude at sea, than for finding it if at any time it should be

of Hanover, upon the accession of that Prince to the British throne Newton was particularly noticed at Court ; and it was for his Majesty's immediate satisfaction, that he was induced to put the last hand to the dispute about the invention of Fluxions. This interesting subject is ably and definitively discussed in a Critique lately published of the Rev. W. Dealtry's valuable '*Treatise of Fluxions.*' (See *Quarterly Review.*)

lost, as it may easily be in cloudy weather. How far this is practicable, and with what charge, they that are skilled in sea-affairs are best able to judge. In sailing by this method, whenever they are to pass over very deep seas, they must sail due east or west ; they must first sail into the latitude of the next place to which they are going beyond it, and then keep due east or west till they come at that place.

“ In the three first ways, there must be a watch regulated by a spring, and rectified every visible sunrise and sun-set, to tell the hour of the day or night. In the fourth way, such a watch is not necessary. In the first way, there must be two watches, this and the other above-mentioned. In any of the three first ways, it may be of service to find the Longitude within a degree, and of much more service to find it within forty minutes, or half a degree, if it may ; and the success may deserve rewards accordingly.

“ In the fourth way, it is easier to enable seamen to know their distance and bearing from the shore forty, sixty, or eighty miles off, than to cross the seas ; and some part of the reward may be given, when the first is performed on the coast of Great Britain, for the safety of ships coming home ; and the rest, when seamen shall be enabled to sail to an assigned remote harbour without losing their Longitude, if it may be.”

Upon this opinion, the Commons rejected the Petitions.

In 1715, M. Leibnitz, with a view of persuading the world that Newton had stolen the Method of Fluxions from his Differential Method,\* resolved to

\* This he had anxiously wished to accomplish from the year 1684 ; and to foil his attempts Newton had, in 1687, asserted his

foil his mathematical skill by the celebrated Problem of the Trajectories, which he therefore proposed by way of challenge to the English philosophers. But the solution of this, though it was the most difficult proposition which his acute antagonist could devise, was scarcely more than an amusement to the English philosopher. He received the Problem at four o'clock in the afternoon, as he was returning from the Mint; and, though he was extremely fatigued with official business, he finished the investigation of it before he went to bed.

In the new Court the Princess of Wales, afterward Queen Caroline, was particularly fond of philosophical inquiries. No sooner, therefore, was she informed of Sir Isaac's attachment to the House of Hanover, than she engaged his conversation, which presently endeared him to her. Here she found in every difficulty that entire satisfaction, which she had in vain sought elsewhere; and was frequently heard to declare, that 'she thought herself happy in living at a juncture of time, which put it in her power to converse with him.'

Among other things, he one day acquainted her Royal Highness with his conclusions upon some points

right to the invention, in the Scholium to the Second Lemma of the Second Book of his '*Principia*;' and re-asserted, in the accompaniments to his '*Optics*,' 1672, that he had discovered his 'Method of Fluxions' in the years 1665 and 1666. Notwithstanding this, in the '*Acta Eruditorum*' of Leipsic it was intimated that Newton had borrowed it from Leibnitz. Dr. Keill, however, with great zeal and success vindicated the honour of his illustrious countryman: and Fontenelle says, "Leibnitz was only the first to publish this method of calculation; in taking which from Newton, if he did so, he resembled Prometheus in the fable, who stole fire from heaven, that he might communicate it to men."

of Chronology,\* and communicated to her what he had formerly written for his own amusement upon the subject. Such, however, appeared to her the novelty and the ingenuity of the plan, that she would not be satisfied till he had promised to complete a work so happily begun.

Not long afterward, about the year 1718, the Princess begged to be indulged with a copy of these papers; and though they were extremely confused and indigested, he offered in a few days to supply her with an abstract of them, provided it might be kept secret. Upon her desiring however that Signor Conti, a Venetian nobleman then in England, might

\* Yet his calculations proceed upon a principle which, however correct in averages of great numbers, can hardly perhaps be safely applied to the heptad of Roman Kings, &c. It has been powerfully combated by Dr. Musgrave in his tract upon 'the Chronology of the Olympiads' (from page 146 to the end), where are contrasted with three consecutive Kings of France, Louis XIII., XIV., and XV., who reigned 163 years (from the assassination of Henry IV. in 1608, to the accession of Louis XVI. in 1774) the three consecutive Emperors of Rome, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, whose conjunctive reigns did not amount "in all to a year and three quarters." This argument was sanctioned by the late Professor Porson.

"In mathematics," says Whiston, in his own 'Memoirs of Himself,' "Sir Isaac could sometimes see almost by intuition, even without demonstration; as was the case in that famous Proposition in his '*Principia*,' that 'All Parallelograms circumscribed about the conjugate diameters of an Ellipsis are equal;' which, he told Mr. Cotes, he used before it had ever been demonstrated by any one, as it was afterward. And, when he did but propose conjectures in Natural Philosophy, he almost always knew them to be true at the same time: yet did this Sir Isaac Newton compose a Chronology, and wrote out eighteen copies of it's first and principal chapter with his own hand, but little different one from another, which proved no better than a sagacious romance," &c.



have a transcript of it upon the same condition, he felt himself unable to deny her request.

Notwithstanding this promise Conti, who had always affected to show a particular friendship for Newton, immediately upon his arrival in France dispersed copies of it, and procured an antiquary to translate it into French, and to draw up a confutation of it. This was printed at Paris in 1727; after which, a copy of the translation unaccompanied by the remarks, under the title of '*Abrégé de Chronologie de M. le Chevalier Newton, fait par lui-même, et traduit sur le manuscrit Anglois,*' was delivered, as a present from the printer to the author, in order to obtain his consent to the publication; and, though he expressly withheld it, the whole was, nevertheless, published in the same year.

Upon this, Sir Isaac printed, in the Philosophical Transactions (xxxiv. No. 316.) 'Remarks upon the Observations made on a Chronological Index of Sir Isaac Newton, translated into French by the Observator, and published at Paris.\*

About the year 1722, this incomparable man, then in the eightieth year of his age, was seized with an incontinence of urine, which as supposed to proceed from the stone in the bladder, was deemed incurable. By the help of a strict regimen however, and other precautions which till then he never had found it

\* Of this paper a French translation appeared at Paris in 1726, with a Letter of Conti's in answer to it. In the same year, likewise, were published in the same city, by Father Souciet, some Dissertations upon the 'Chronological Index;' which were answered by Dr. Halley, in the Phil. Trans. No. 379.

necessary to observe, he procured great intervals of ease during the remaining five years of his life; though severe paroxysms would, occasionally, cause large drops of sweat to run down his face.

Under these circumstances, he was never heard to express the least impatience: on the contrary, as soon as he had a moment's ease, he would smile and talk with his usual cheerfulness. Till this time, he had always read and written several hours in a day; but he was now obliged to rely upon Mr. Conduit, who had married his niece, for the discharge of his office in the Mint.

On Saturday morning March 18, 1726, he read the newspapers, and discoursed a long time with Dr. Mead, his physician, in the perfect possession of all his senses and his understanding; but that night he lost them all, and died without recovering them on the Monday following.

His body lay in state in the Jerusalem Chamber, and, on the twenty eighth of March, was conveyed to Westminster Abbey, the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Montrose and Roxburgh, and the Earls of Pembroke, Sussex, and Macclesfield holding up the pall. The corpse was interred at the entrance into the choir, on the left hand, where a stately monument was erected to his memory with the following elegant inscription:

H. S. E.

ISAACUS NEWTON, *Eques Auratus,*  
*Qui animi vi propè divinâ*  
*Planetarum motus, figuras,*  
*Cometarum semitas, Oceanique æstus,*  
*Suâ mathezi facem præferente,*  
*Primus demonstravit.*  
*Radiatorum lucis dissimilitudines,*

*Colorumque inde nascentium proprietates,  
 Quas nemo antea vel suspicatus erat, pervestigavit.  
 Naturæ, Antiquitatis, S. Scripturæ  
 Sedulus, sagax, fidus interpres,  
 Dei Opt. Max. majestatem philosophiâ asseruit,  
 Evangelii simplicitatem moribus expressit.*

*Sibi gratulentur mortales, tale tantumque extitisse*

HUMANI GENERIS DECUS.

*Natus xxv. Decemb. MDCLII.*

*Obiit xx. Mart. MDCCXVI.*

In his own illustrious College, worthy of such a son, beside pictures, &c., was erected in the anti-chapel, at the expense of Dr. Robert Smith, Master, a most admirable piece of statuary executed by Roubiliac in white marble; representing the Philosopher standing on a pedestal, in a gown of the most graceful drapery, with a prism in his hands, his eyes directed upward in abstracted meditation. The inscription, from the third book of Lucretius, is

*Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit.\**

Near the foot of this statue rest Cotes,† Bentley,

\* This statue is well described in the following lines:

‘Hark! where the organ, full and clear,  
 With loud hosannas charms the ear;  
 Behold a prism within his hands,  
 Absorb’d in thought great NEWTON stands!  
 Such was his brow and look serene,  
 His serious gait and musing mien,  
 When taught on eagle-wings to fly,  
 He traced the wonders of the sky;  
 The chambers of the sun explored,  
 Where tints of thousand hues were stored.’

† The inscription upon this eminent man, who died at the early age of thirty four, and of whom Newton himself pro-

and Porson. Other memorials of him are scattered over nearly the whole surface of contemporary literature. Mr Pope's tribute is subjoined :

' Nature, and Nature's Laws, lay hid in night:  
God said, " Let NEWTON be;" and all was light.'

He elsewhere says of the Angels, that they

' Admired such wisdom in a human shape,  
And show'd a NEWTON, as we show an ape.' \*

nounced, " Ah! if Cotes had lived, we should have known something!" is too elegant to be omitted:

H. S. F.

*Rogerus Roberti Filius Cotes  
Hujus Collegii S. Trinitatis Socius,  
Et Astronomiæ et Experimentalis  
Philosophiæ Professor Plumianus :  
Qui, immaturâ morte præcepsus,  
Pauca quidem ingenii sui  
Pignora reliquit,  
Sed egregia, sed admiranda,  
Ex intimis Matheseos penetralibus  
Felici solertiâ tum primùm eruta ;  
Post magnum illum Newtonum,  
Societatis hujus spes altera,  
Et decus gemellum :  
Cui, ad summam doctrinæ laudem,  
Omnes morum virtutumque dotes  
In cumulum accesserunt ;  
Eò magis spectabiles admirabilesque,  
Quòd in formoso corpore  
Gratiores venirent.  
Natus Burbagii,  
In agro Leicestriensi,  
Jul. x. MDCLXXXII.  
Obiit Jan. v. MDCCXVI.*

\* Other Epitaphio-idal Inscriptions were :

' Approach, ye wise of soul, with awe divine ;  
'Tis NEWTON's name that consecrates this shrine !

With regard to his person, he was of a middling stature, and in the latter part of his life somewhat inclined to corpulence. His countenance was pleasing and venerable at the same time, especially when he took off his peruke, and showed his white hair,

That sun of knowledge, whose meridian ray  
Kindled the gloom of Nature into day:  
That soul of science, that unbounded mind,  
That genius which ennobled human kind;  
Confess'd supreme of men, his country's pride,  
And half esteem'd an Angel—till he died!  
Who in the eye of Heaven like Enoch stood,  
And through the paths of knowledge walk'd with God:  
Whose fame extends, a sea without a shore;  
Who but forsook one world, to know the laws of more.'

And,

'More than his name were less—'Twould seem to fear  
He, who increased Heaven's fame, could want it here.  
Yes: when the sun he lighted up shall fade,  
And all the worlds he first found are decay'd;  
Then void and waste eternity shall lie,  
And Time and NEWTON'S name together die.'

Dr. Bentley, also, wrote a Latin inscription for his great fellow-collegian, which will be given at the end of his Life; Thomson inscribed, to 'the Genius of his dejected Country,' as he would have him called, a poem, for the science contained in which he was indebted to the assistance of a more learned friend: and Mr. Hollis subjoined to his fine Mezzotinto print of Newton (now scarce) the following passage from Voltaire's Letter accompanying his 'Ode sur la mort de Mme. de Bareith': *Les Italiens, ces peuples ingenieux, ont craint de penser. Les Français n'ont osé penser qu'à dernier. Les Anglais, qui ont volé jusqu'au ciel parce qu'on ne leur a point coupé les ailes, sont devenus les precepteurs des nations.* Nous leur devons tout depuis les loix primitives de la Gravitation, depuis la calcul de l'Infini et la connaissance precise de la Lumiere si vainement combattue, jusqu'à la nouvelle Charue et à l'insertion de la Petite Verole combattues encore.

which was rather thick. He lost but one tooth, and never made use of spectacles, during his whole life. This perhaps might be the ground for Fontenelle's saying, in a kind of panegyric, that 'he had an extremely lively and piercing eye;' as Bishop Atterbury, who seems to have observed it more critically, assures us that "this did not belong to him, at least not for twenty years past, about which time (he adds) I became acquainted with him. Indeed, in the whole air of his face and make there was nothing of that penetrating sagacity which appears in his compositions; he had something rather languid in his look and manner, which did not raise any great expectation in those who did not know him."

In contemplating his profound genius, it becomes a doubt, whether sagacity, penetration, strength, or diligence had the largest share in his composition. He himself invariably spoke of his own abilities with singular modesty. One day, when a friend had been expressing himself in strong terms upon his uncommon talents, Sir Isaac unaffectedly assured him, that 'for his own part he was sensible, whatever he had done worth notice was owing rather to a patience of thought, than to any extraordinary sagacity.' "I keep the subject constantly before me, and wait till the first dawnings open slowly, by little and little, into a full and clear light."

When engaged in any mathematical meditation, he would occasionally sit on the side of his bed half-dressed for a considerable period. Dinner has frequently waited for him three hours. His intimate friend, Dr. Stukeley (it is even said) once ate up his chicken, after long waiting in vain for his appearance, and putting the bones in the dish, re-

placed the cover. When Newton at last left his study, and telling his visitor that 'he was both weary and hungry,' sat down to table, he merely said with a smile, on perceiving only the relics of the fowl, "I thought I had not dined, but I find I was mistaken."

A proof of the excellence of his temper, likewise, is on record, which deserves to be remembered. His favourite little dog; Diamond, overturned a lighted candle among some papers, the almost-completed labours of several years. The loss, as he was at this time far advanced in life, was irretrievable: yet he only rebuked the cause of it with, "O Diamond! Diamond! thou little knowest the mischief thou hast done!"

The readiness of his invention superseded in him the necessity of putting his memory much to the trial; but this was the offspring of a vigorous intenseness of thought. He spent, therefore, the prime of his age in abstruse researches, when his situation in a college gave him leisure, and even while study was his proper profession: but as soon as he was removed to the Mint, he applied himself chiefly to the business of his office, and so far quitted mathematics and philosophy, as not to engage in any new pursuit of either kind afterward.

He had read fewer of the modern mathematicians, as we learn from Dr. Pemberton, than could have been imagined; but his own prodigious powers readily supplied him with whatever he wanted in any subject which he undertook. He often censured the handling of geometrical subjects by algebraic calculations; and praised Slusius, Barrow, and Huygens for not having yielded to the bad taste,

which then began to prevail. He used to commend the laudable attempt of Hugo de Omerique to restore the ancient analysis, and highly esteemed Apollonius' book '*De Sectione Rationis*,' as presenting a clearer notion of that analysis than had been previously published. He particularly approved Huygens, as the most elegant and accurate imitator of the ancients, of whose taste and form of demonstration he always professed himself a great admirer.

The same writer likewise observes, that though his memory was indeed much decayed in the latter years of his life, the common discourse, that 'he did not then understand his own works,' was entirely groundless. The opinion might, perhaps, arise from his not being always ready to speak upon these subjects; but this was, probably, the consequence of that species of abstraction, which is not unfrequently seen in men of genius.

He had, moreover, a natural modesty and meekness of disposition, which evinced itself strongly in his conduct to Leibnitz. He was not, however, totally insensible of injuries; and after the perfidious behaviour of Conti, his customary caution increased into a habit of reserve bordering upon mistrust, which was taken amiss by men of integrity entitled on account of their talents to free communications of his superior knowledge.

Another consequence of his native modesty was, that he never talked either of himself or others, so as to furnish the most malicious with the least occasion even to suspect him of vanity. Invariably kind, candid, and affable, he never thought either his merit, or his reputation, sufficient to excuse him



from any of the common offices of social life. No singularities, natural or affected, distinguished him from other men.

With respect to his religious sentiments, though he was firmly attached to the Church of England,\* he was averse from the persecution of Non-conformists. He judged of men by their conduct; and the true Schismatics, in his opinion, were the vicious and the wicked. Not that he confined his principles to Natural Religion, for he was thoroughly persuaded of the truth of Revelation, and amidst the great variety of books constantly before him, that which he studied with the greatest application was, the Bible.†

\* As some unfair attempts have been made to claim this great name for the *soi-disant* Rationalists, I subjoin a brief note upon the subject:

I have elsewhere shown (observes Bishop Burgess) that Sir Isaac Newton was not a Socinian; and I have quoted from him language, that conveys the sentiments of a sincere adherent to the Church, of which he was a member. He could, therefore, be neither Socinian nor Arian. The following extract from Whiston's Memoirs of his own life will confirm this conclusion: "On or about the year 1720, I take it to have been, that I was refused to be admitted a Member of the Royal Society by Sir Isaac Newton. The case was this: Sir Hans Sloane, Dr. Edmund Halley, and myself were once together at Child's Coffee House, in St. Paul's Churchyard; and Dr. Halley asked me, 'Why I was not a member of that Society?' I answered, 'Because they durst not choose a Heretic.' Upon which Dr. Halley said to Sir Hans Sloane that, 'if he would propose me, he would second it:' which was done accordingly. When Sir Isaac Newton heard this, he was greatly concerned, and by what I then learned closeted some of the Members, in order to get rid of me; and told them, that 'if I was chosen a Member, he would not be President.'"

† So Collins, in the brighter intervals distinguishing his last

He did not neglect those opportunities of doing good, which the revenues of his patrimony and a profitable employment, improved by a prudent economy, put into his power. When decency upon any occasion required expense and show, he was magnificent without grudging it, and with a very good grace. At other times that pomp, which seems great only to low minds, was utterly retrenched, and it's cost reserved for better uses.

He never married, and perhaps he never had leisure to think of it. Immersed in profound studies during the prime of his age, and subsequently occupied in an employment of considerable importance, or with the society which his merit drew round him, he was not sensible of any vacancy in life. He left 32,000*l.* behind him, but made no will; thinking, as Fontenelle assures us, that 'a legacy was no gift.'

After his death, there were found among his papers several discourses upon subjects of Antiquity, History, Divinity, Chemistry, and Mathematics. Some of these have been published.

unhappy depression of mind, travelled with no other book than an English Testament, such as children carry to the school; and upon Johnson's taking it into his hand, out of curiosity to see what companion a man of letters had chosen, 'I have but one book,' said he, 'but that is the best.' This is happily noticed in the concluding lines of his epitaph by Hayley and Sargent in Chichester Cathedral, as well as by the sculptor on his monument:

\*            \*            \*            \*

' Who join'd pure Faith to strong poetic power;  
Who, in reviving Reason's lucid hour,  
Sought on one book his troubled mind to rest,  
And rightly deem'd the Book of God the best.'

Beside the works already mentioned, in 1727 appeared a Table of the Assays of Foreign Coins drawn up by him, and printed at the end of Dr. Arbuthnot's book on that subject. And the next year, came out his 'Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms amended: to which is prefixed a Short Chronicle from the first memory of Things in Europe, to the Conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great.'

After this, were published his 'Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John,' in 1733; which, though unfinished, discovered in some of its parts the hand of a master.

In 1734, Dr. Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, in a piece entitled, 'The Analyst,' attacked his Method of Fluxions, as obscure and unintelligible; the doctrine of movements, upon which it was founded, necessarily as he contended involving a notion of infinity of which we can form no comprehensible or adequate idea, and therefore being unsuitable for geometrical disquisitions. This gave rise to a controversy, which occasioned the republication of Newton's 'Method of Fluxions, and Analysis by Infinite Series.' \*

In 1737, was printed an English translation of his Latin Dissertation upon the Sacred Cubit of the Jews. It was found subjoined to an incomplete work of his entitled, '*Lexicon Propheticum.*'

In 1742, appeared his 'Tables for purchasing

\* This treatise, translated from the Latin original into English, and printed in 1736 with a perpetual commentary, by Mr. John Colson (afterward Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge) contained, among other things, 'A Defence of the Method against the Objections of Dr. Berkeley.' See the Life of Dr. B.

College Leases ;' and, two years afterward, was published at Lausanne '*Newtoni Is. Opuscula Mathematica Philosophica et Philologica collegit J. Castilioneus*, in eight volumes quarto. In 1745, Mr. John Stewart gave to the world an English translation of his 'Two Treatises on the Quadrature of Curves, and Analysis by Equations of an infinite number of Terms,' in quarto, accompanied with a large commentary : and, in 1746, were printed his '*Elementa Perspectivæ Universalis*,' in octavo.

Lastly, in 1756, were published 'Four Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to Dr. Bentley ; containing some Arguments in Proof of a Deity.'

## SIR RICHARD STEELE.\*

[1676—1729.]

**SIR RICHARD STEELE** was born in Dublin, about the year 1676. † A branch of his family possessed a considerable estate in the county of Wexford; and his father, a counsellor at law, was for some time private secretary to James, first Duke of Ormond. He died, before his son had completed his fifth year. Richard, while very young, was placed at the Charter House School, London, where he first contracted his intimacy with Addison. ‡ Thence he removed to Merton College, Oxford, where he was admitted a Post Master in 1692. At the University he gave some specimens of his taste for polite literature, and even proceeded so far as to compose a comedy: but by the advice of a brother-collegian, he had

\* **AUTHORITIES.** *Piographia Britannica*; *British Biography*; Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*; *Tatler*, with notes, 1786; and Steele's *Epistolary Correspondence*.

† Others say, 1671.

‡ "I remember," says Steele, when I finished the 'Tender Husband,' I told him (Addison) there was nothing I so tenderly wished, as that we might some time or other publish a work written by us both, which should bear the name of the 'Monument,' in memory of our friendship." (*Spectator* 555.)

the good sense to suppress it. As he had great vivacity of disposition, he formed about this time a resolution of entering into the army, and accordingly left Oxford without taking any degree. His military ardor, indeed, was so strong, that not having it in his power to obtain a better situation, he engaged as a private in the horse-guards. This rash step, however, cost him the succession to a very good Irish property.

By nature he was admirably adapted to the profession, which he had chosen. Gay, gallant, and generous, he was distinguished by the brilliancy of his wit, and the courtesy of his manners. These qualities rendered him the delight of the soldiery, and procured him an ensign's commission. But, amidst the seductions by which he was surrounded, he too readily prostituted his fine talents, and his amiable qualities, in the service of licentiousness. Yet his licentiousness flowed not without its interruptions. Hours of reflexion intervened: and in these it was, that he wrote for his private use a little book called 'The Christian Hero;\* with a design, principally, to correct his propensity to unwarrantable pleasures. But the secret admonition

\* "This work consists chiefly," says Chalmers, "of a review of the characters of some celebrated heathens, contrasted with the life and principles of our blessed Saviour and St. Paul; from which it was his object to prove, that none of the heroic virtues, or 'true greatness of mind, can be maintained unless upon Christian principles. The language is far from being regular, and perhaps he may seem deficient in powers of argument: but his address has much of that honest zeal and affection, which comes from the heart. It has been often reprinted, and circulated among the middling class of readers." (*Biograph. Pref. to the Teller, in his 'British Essayists.'*)

of this treatise, while it was confined to his own hands, proving weak and ineffectual, he determined to print it with his name, in hopes that by thus drawing on himself the attention of all his acquaintance, he might establish a farther check upon his passions.\* Accordingly, in 1701, he gave it to the world with a dedication to his patron Lord Cutts, † who appointed him his private secretary, and had likewise procured for him a company in Lord Lucas' Fusileers. So gross, however, was the contradiction between the tenor of his work and the general course of his life, that it not only exposed him to painful raillery, but was also attended with more unwelcome consequences. From being thought no undelightful companion, he was now reckoned a very disagreeable fellow. One or two of his old comrades thought fit to insult him, and try their

\* Denham was another instance of an author attempting to write himself out of his follies. But "a man (as Johnson has well observed) who proposes schemes of life in abstraction and disengagement, exempt from the enticements of hope, the solicitations of affection, the importunities of appetite, or the depressions of fear, is in the same state with him that teaches upon land the art of navigation, to whom the sea is always smooth and the wind always prosperous." (*Rambler*, 14.)

† It begins as follows:

' MY LORD,

' *Tower Guard, March 23, 1701.*

' The address of the following papers is so very much due to your Lordship, that they are but a mere report of what has passed upon guard to my Commander; for they were written upon duty, and when the mind was perfectly disengaged and at leisure, in the silent watch of the night, to run over the busy dream of the day; and the vigilance, which obliges us to suppose an enemy always near us, has awakened a sense that there is a restless and subtle one, which constantly attends our steps and meditates our ruin, &c."

valour upon him; and every body contrasted the slightest levity in his words and actions with the character of a 'Christian Hero.'

With a view, therefore, of enlivening 'his character,' he composed his Comedy called 'The Funeral, or Grief Alamode.' This performance met with a very favourable reception upon the stage; but its success was chiefly owing to the author's interest in the army, and the zeal of his fellow-soldiers. "Nothing," he himself has somewhere observed, "ever makes the town so fond of a man, as a successful play." Accordingly this recommendation, with some other particulars displayed to his advantage, procured him the notice of his Sovereign; and his name, as one to be provided for, was entered (he informs us) in the last table-book ever worn by William III. But his hopes were frustrated by the death of his royal patron.

At the beginning of the ensuing reign, through the interest of the Earls of Halifax and Sunderland, to whom he was recommended by Addison, he was appointed to the Writership of the Gazette; an humble appendage to the ministry, requiring chiefly the qualities of obedience and discretion. Soon afterward, with the aid of the same generous friend, he produced his second comedy, called 'The Tender Husband, or the Accomplished Fools;' which was acted, in the year 1704, with considerable success. But his next play, 'The Lying Lovers,' met with a very different reception. In his preceding dramas, he had steadily preserved the point of morality: in this, he paid a more scrupulous attention to the interests of virtue. Animated by the writings of Collier (which were then much read, and of which



he professed himself a great admirer) he determined with honest ambition to attempt a comedy, that might be no improper entertainment in a Christian commonwealth. He had the mortification, however, to see his play, as he himself expresses it, "damned for it's piety:" a fate, which it certainly does not appear to have deserved on any account within the province of a dramatic tribunal.

Disappointed in his expectations of inculcating morality upon the stage, he now turned his thoughts to other vehicles of instruction, and in 1709 commenced his 'Tatler.' Swift had recently published some humorous pieces under the name of Isaac Bickerstaff, with such success, that Steele in order to recommend his own lucubrations assumed the same signature. Having at the same time secured the assistance of it's original owner,\* he brought out his new paper to the best advantage, and obtained for it almost universal applause.†

He had not been long engaged in the 'Tatler' before Addison, who was then in Ireland, accidently discovering that the publication was carried on under his direction, voluntarily contributed to it's support; supplying, as Steele himself acknowledges, some of the most admirable discourses on serious subjects, and some of the finest strokes of wit and humour that

\* To a less extent however, as Mr. Chalmers affirms, than the author of Steele's Life in the '*Biographia Britannica*' has inferred from his warm acknowledgement of Swift's services upon the occasion.

† In it's outset, indeed, it bore marks of crudity, as it included the political information of a common newspaper: but it quickly improved.

are to be found throughout the work. The general purpose of the *Tatler* was (as the author observes) "to expose the false arts of life, to pull off the disguises of cunning, vanity, and affectation, and to recommend a general simplicity in our dress, our discourse, and our behaviour." Nothing more was aimed at, while Dr. Swift was concerned in it; nor did the papers rise above this design till the change of the ministry, when Addison had leisure to engage more constantly in the work. By his assistance, however, it's reputation was proportionably increased: the air of the familiar was raised into the sublime; and the most important subjects were treated with elegance, purity, and correctness.

Upward of a year before he began to publish the '*Tatler*,' Steele married his second wife. By his first, a lady of Barbadoes, he had become possessed of a plantation in that island, estimated at more than 800*l.* *per ann.*, encumbered however with considerable debts and legacies. She died a few months after their marriage; but of her name, her character, or the precise time of her decease, we have no account.\* His second was Mary, daughter of Jonathan Scurlock Esq., of Langunnor in Wales;

\* She is supposed to be alluded to in a paper of the *Tatler* (No. 117) written by Addison, of the incident recorded in which Dr. Beattie observes; "One of the finest moral tales I ever read is an account in the *Tatler*, which though it has every appearance of a real dream, comprehends a moral so sublime and so interesting, that I question whether any man who attends to it can ever forget it; and, if he remembers, whether he can ever cease to be the better for it." (*Dissertations Moral and Critical*.) He fell in love with his second wife, it has been said, as she attended the funeral of his first.

a lady of great fortune and beauty, to whom he remained strongly attached to the end of her life.

In his ‘*Epistolary Correspondence*,’\* are many curious letters addressed to her, after they were married, from which we select the following :

“ MY DEAR WIFE,

“ *Oct. 8, 1707.*

“ You were not, I am sure, awake so soon as I was for you, and desired the blessing of God upon you. After that first duty, my next is to let you know I am in health this morning, which I know you are solicitous for. I believe it would not be amiss, if some time this afternoon you took a coach or chair, and went to see a house next door to Lady Bulkeley’s, toward St. James’ Street, which is to be let. I have a solid reason for quickening my diligence in all affairs of the world, which is, that you are my partaker in them, and will make me labour more than any inclination of ambition or wealth could do. After I have implored the help of Providence, I will have no motive to my actions but the love of the best creature living, to whom I am an obedient husband,

“ RICH. STEELE.”

“ MADAM,

“ *Aug. 12, 1708.*

“ I have your letter, wherein you let me know that the little dispute we have had is far from being a trouble to you: nevertheless, I assure you, any disturbance between us is the greatest affliction to

\* Published by Mr. Nichols in 1787, in two volumes, 8vo.

me imaginable. You talk of ‘the judgement of the world;’ I shall never govern my actions by it, but by the rules of morality and right reason. I love you better than the light of my eyes, or the life-blood in my heart: but, when I have let you know that, you are also to understand, that neither my sight shall be so far enchanted, or my affection so much master of me, as to make me forget our common interest. To attend my business as I ought, and improve my fortune, it is necessary that my time and my will should be under no direction but my own. Pray give my most humble service to Mrs. Binns. I write all this rather to explain my own thoughts to you, than answer to you distinctly. I enclose it to you, that upon second thoughts you may see the respectful manner in which you treat your affectionate, faithful husband,

“ RICH. STEELE.”

“ DEAR WIFE,

“ I have been in great pain of body and mind, since I came out. You are extremely cruel to a generous nature, which has a tenderness for you, that renders your least dishumour insupportably afflicting. After short starts of passion, not to be inclined to reconciliation is what is against all rules of Christianity and justice. When I come home, I beg to be kindly received; or this will have as ill an effect upon my fortune, as on my mind and body.

“ RICH. STEELE.”

“ DEAR PRUE,

“ Aug. 28, 1708.

“ The afternoon-coach shall bring you ten pounds. Your letter shows, you are passionately in love with

me. But we must take our portion of life as it runs, without repining; and I consider that good-nature, added to that beautiful form God has given you, would make a happiness too great for human life. Your most obliged husband, and most humble servant,

“ RICH. STEELE.”

From many of these letters it appears, that the temper of Steele and his wife were in some respects extremely different, which often occasioned disagreements between them. They appear, in fact, never to have parted without bickerings; yet during their being asunder, he often wrote to her three or four passionate notes in a day, dated from his office or a bookseller's shop or a friend's house, *e. g.*

“ I beg of you not to be impatient, though it be an hour before you see your obliged husband,

“ RICH. STEELE.”

“ DEAR PRUE,

“ Forgive me dining abroad, and let Will carry the papers to Buckley's. Your fond devoted

“ R. S.”

“ DRAR PRUE,

“ I am very sleepy and tired, but could not think of closing my eyes till I had told you I am, dearest creature, your most affectionate faithful husband,

“ R. STEELE.”

From other notes it appears to have been in consequence of the connubial mandate of his fair despot,

that he thus gave her "an account of every trifle and minute of his time." He was highly improvident, and liberal even to a degree of prodigality; while she was not merely prudent, but parsimonious, hoarding the greatest part of her income, of which she had cautiously reserved the management almost entirely to herself.

His inattention to economy often involved him in considerable difficulties. Dr. Johnson says, "Steele, whose imprudence of generosity or vanity of profusion kept him always incurably necessitous, upon some pressing exigence in an evil hour borrowed a hundred pounds of his friend Addison, probably without much purpose of repayment; but Addison, who seems to have had other notions of a hundred pounds, grew impatient of delay, and reclaimed his loan by an execution. Steele felt with great sensibility the obduracy of his creditor; but with emotions of sorrow, rather than of anger." Of this transaction, which Johnson has represented in a manner highly injurious to Addison, the following appears to be the true account: Steele had built, and inhabited for a few years, a small but elegant house adjoining to the side of the palace of Hampton Court; to which he gave the name of 'the Hovel at Hampton Wick.\*' Here he lived in a manner,

\* "He wrote lively Essays," it has been remarked, "on the follies of the day in an enormous black peruke, which cost him fifty guineas! He built an elegant villa; but, as he was always inculcating economy, he dates from 'the Hovel!' He detected the fallacy of the South Sea scheme, while he himself invented projects not inferior either in magnificence or in misery! He even turned alchemist, and wanted to gain gold—merely to distribute it!"

which his finances would by no means admit; and, being much embarrassed for money, borrowed a thousand pounds of Addison on this house and its furniture, giving bond and judgement for its repayment at the end of twelve months. Addison finding that it would be advantageous to Steele, to compel him to quit his house at Hampton, on the forfeiture of his bond directed his attorney to proceed to execution. The property was, accordingly, sold; and the surplus Addison remitted to Steele, with a letter stating his anxious wish by this extraordinary proceeding, 'to awaken him, if possible, from a lethargy which must end in his inevitable ruin.' Steele received the letter with his wonted gayety, met his friend as usual, and declared that 'he always considered this step as really intended to do him service.'

The success, which the *Tatler* obtained, with its partiality to the existing administration, was highly favourable not only to the fame, but also to the interest of its author; and, in 1710, he was made a Commissioner of the Stamp Duties. During the same year, upon the change of the ministry, he adhered to the Duke of Marlborough, the honour of whose esteem and friendship he had for some time enjoyed; and when his Grace was dismissed from all employments, he addressed to him a letter, under the title of 'The Englishman's Thanks to the Duke of Marlborough.' As he still, however, continued to hold his place in the Stamp Office under the new cabinet, he restrained his pen from political subjects; and, having dropped the '*Tatler*,' drew up the plan of the '*Spectator*' in concert with Mr. Addison, whose assistance was the chief support of that admirable work. It made its first appearance in March 1710-11,

was discontinued in December 1712, resumed in June 1714, and completed in the December of the same year.

By the unexampled applauses which followed this invaluable series of essays, Steele was encouraged to prosecute the same design under a different title: and accordingly, soon after it's final discontinuance he began the 'Guardian;' the first number of which was published in March, and the last in October, 1713. But in the course of this paper he gave his pen so free a political range, that some of his friends were dissatisfied with his manner of conducting it; and Pope and Congreve withdrew their assistance. This, however, was no check to his ardor: he had strenuously engaged against the ministry, and he was determined to exert himself to the utmost in his favourite cause. Hence, he resolved to procure a seat in the House of Commons at the ensuing election. for no other reason (as he observes) but to say more for the good of his deluded country; resigning at the same time his appointment in the Stamp Office and his pension as servant to the late Prince George of Denmark, which her Majesty had been graciously pleased to continue to him.\* He then published his celebrated Letter to the Guardian, on the demolition of Dunkirk; and, parliament being dissolved the next day, wrote several other vehement tracts against the administration.

In August, 1713, he was elected member for Stockbridge; and, in the following October, his 'Eng-

\* The same mark of respect was shown to the whole family of that Prince.



lishman' made it's appearance. During the course of this publication, he also issued, 'The Crisis, or a Discourse representing from the most ancient Records the just Causes of the late Revolution, and the several Settlements of the Crown of England and Scotland on her Majesty; and, on the demise of her Majesty without issue, upon the most illustrious Princess Sophia Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body (being Protestants) by previous Acts of both Parliaments of the late kingdoms of England and Scotland, and confirmed by the Parliament of Great Britain. With some seasonable Remarks on the Danger of a Popish Successor.' \*

\* The nature of this Treatise, and the occasion of his writing it, he himself explains in his 'Apology;' where he tells us, that 'the plan of the work was first hinted to him by his friend Mr. More, of the Inner Temple, a gentleman well skilled in the laws and constitution of this kingdom; who in some incidental discourse on politics, took notice of the insinuations daily thrown out of the dangers menacing the Protestant Succession, and concluded with observing, that 'he thought Mr. Steele, from his popularity as a writer, might be more instrumental toward curing the evil of disaffection to the House of Hanover than any private man in England;' adding, that 'the evil seemed only to flow from mere inattention to the obligations, which we owed to that illustrious House; and, therefore (said he) if the laws to this purpose were reprinted, together with a warm preface and a well-urged peroration, it is not to be imagined what good effects it would have.' Struck with the suggestion, Steele persuaded More to supply the law-part, and speedily finished the rest: he would not, however, venture to publish it, till it had been submitted to the inspection of some other friends. "When the 'Crisis,'" says he, "was written hand in hand with Mr. More, I, who was to answer for it with my all, would not venture upon my own single judgement. Therefore, I caused it to be printed:

The publication of this piece was productive of very serious results to the author. From the first, indeed, he had been fully aware of the danger, to which it might expose him.

It was immediately attacked with extreme severity by Dr. Swift in a pamphlet, entitled "The Public Spirit of the Whigs set forth, in their generous Encouragement of the Author of the 'Crisis.'" But it was not till the twelfth of March, 1713-14, that it fell under the cognisance of the House of Commons. The probable consequences of Steele's having a seat in that assembly had been foreseen by the opposite party, and had even been pointed out by the writer of the 'Examiner;' who in one of his papers remarked, that "Mr. Steele was never so dear to the Whigs, as since he let them know that he durst insult the Queen. This has made him their favourite, and one of their authors has made his dull panegyric upon him already for it; while another set

and left one copy with Mr. Addison, another with Mr. Lechmere, another with Mr. Minshull, and another with Mr. Hoadly. From these corrected copies the 'Crisis' became the piece it is. When I thought it my duty, I thank God I had no farther consideration for myself than to do it in a lawful and proper way, so as to give no disparagement to a glorious cause from my indiscretion, or want of judgement. I was willing to ripen the question of the Succession upon my own head."

In the Miscellaneous Works of Dr. Wagstaffe, printed by Bowyer in 1726, occurs the Character of Steele, written at the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, after he had endeavoured to distinguish himself, in opposition to the existing ministry, by publishing his 'Crisis.' So far, however, was the author from having any personal pique or enmity against the subject of his satire, that at the time of his writing it, it is believed, he did not so much as know him even by sight: nor, indeed, was it ever in his nature to bear malice against any man.

of them are to get him chosen for the next parliament, that he may carry on his insults there, and obtain the honour, as another of their haughty leaders has already done, of being expelled the House."

The event showed, that this warning was prophetic; for upon the meeting of parliament, immediately after Sir Thomas Hammer had been proposed as Speaker, Mr. Steele, having previously expressed his concurrence in that nomination, proceeded to animadvert upon some recent transactions in a manner which occasioned no small commotion. The ministry therefore, determined to lose no time in endeavouring to obviate the efforts of so resolute a member. Accordingly, on the twelfth of March Mr. Auditor Foley, the cousin of the Earl of Oxford, made a formal complaint of three printed pamphlets published under the name of Mr. Steele, as containing several paragraphs tending to sedition, highly reflecting upon her Majesty, and arraigning her administration and government; which pamphlets being laid upon the table, Mr. Steele was ordered to attend in his place.

On making his appearance, he freely acknowledged the pamphlets, and the several paragraphs therein which had been read to the House, to be part of his writings; and added, that 'he wrote them in behalf of the House of Hanover, and now owned them with the same cheerfulness and satisfaction with which he had abjured the Pretender.' He, then, desired permission to answer the accusation paragraph by paragraph; but though he was powerfully supported, it was carried, that 'he should defend himself generally upon the charge made against him.' In this he was

assisted by his friend Addison,\* member for Malmesbury, who sat near him to prompt him upon occasion; and in a speech of nearly three hours, he vindicated himself with such temperate and manly eloquence, as gave entire satisfaction to all who were not inveterately prepossessed against him.

But though the two brothers Robert and Horace Walpole, Lords Finch, Lumley, and Hinchinbroke, and several other members spoke with great spirit in his favour, it was voted by 245 against 152, 1. 'That a printed pamphlet, entitled the 'Englishman,' being the close of the paper so called, and one other pamphlet, entitled the 'Crisis,' written by Richard Steele Esq., a member of that House, were scandalous and seditious libels, containing many expressions highly reflecting upon her Majesty, and upon the nobility, gentry, clergy, and Universities of this kingdom; maliciously insinuating, that 'the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover was in danger under her Majesty's administration,' and tending to alienate the affections of her Majesty's good subjects, and to create jealousies and divisions among them:

2. That Richard Steele Esq., for his offence in writing and publishing the said scandalous and seditious libels, be expelled the House.'

He now determined to exert his talents in the way, to which he had been so long accustomed, and accordingly published two periodical papers: the first,

\* Addison received the speech, delivered upon this occasion by Steele, from Sir Robert Walpole, who was able however on the ensuing day to pronounce a second of a totally different structure, though not of inferior merit, in his own person. See the Life of Walpole.

called the 'Spinster,' appeared in February, 1714; and the second, under the name of the 'Reader,'\* in the April following. In the sixth number of the latter, he gives an account of his design to draw up the History of the Duke of Marlborough, from the date of his Grace's commissions of Captain General and Plenipotentiary to their expiration; of which history, 'the proper materials,' as he informs us, 'were in his custody:' but the work was never executed.

He wrote, however, several political pieces about this time; and published likewise a treatise, entitled 'The Romish Ecclesiastical History of late Years.' This, he observes, is no more than a statement of some collateral and contemporary circumstances and secret passages, joined to an account of the ceremony of the last inauguration of the saints by his Holiness the Pope; which furnishes a lively idea of the pageantry used in that church to strike the imagination of the vulgar, and needs only to be repeated to give any serious man an abhorrence of their idolatry. The object of it was, to prejudice the cause of the Pretender, then supposed to be gaining ground in England; and the subjoined Appendix consists of particulars admirably calculated for the purpose.

As he was extremely zealous for the succession of the House of Hanover, he presented to George I., on the eighth of April 1715, an address (which had been drawn up by himself) from the Lieutenantcy of Middlesex and Westminster. He had, some time before, been appointed a Justice of Peace, and one of the Deputy Lieutenants, for that county. He now re-

\* In opposition to the 'Examiner.'

ceived the honour of knighthood; and was shortly afterward appointed Surveyor of the Royal Stables at Hampton Court. He, subsequently, obtained a share in the patent of one of the play-houses, which was productive of considerable emolument; and he was elected member for Boroughbridge in Yorkshire. But these were compensations greatly inadequate to his pretensions.\* And, as he continued to want economy, he was still frequently involved in difficulties.†

As a member of parliament, Sir Richard Steele appears always to have behaved with great public spirit; but this did not tend to advance his fortune, in the reign either of Queen Anne, or of her successor. He, also, engaged in some projects, which were not advantageous to him. In 1717, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for inquiring into the estates forfeited by the Scottish rebellion. This appointment carried him into that part of the

\* In August 1715, indeed, he received from Sir Robert Walpole, 'for special services,' 500*l*. But this, which was strongly misrepresented at the time, is fully explained in Nichol's *Life of Welsted*, prefixed to his *Works*, octavo, 1787.

† Upon one of these occasions, having invited to his house a number of persons of the first quality, he surprised them by the number of liveries which surrounded the table. After dinner, one of them inquiring, 'How such an expensive train of domestics could be consistent with his fortune?' 'They were fellows,' he replied, 'of whom he would very willingly be rid.' Being then asked, 'Why he did not discharge them?' he confessed that they were 'bailiffs, who had introduced themselves with an execution; and whom, since he could not send them away, he had thought it convenient to embellish with liveries, that they might do him credit while they stayed.' Diverted with the expedient, his guests by paying the debt discharged the attendance; obliging him however to promise, that 'they should never find him again graced with a retinue of a similar kind.'

United Kingdom, where he received from some of the nobility and gentry distinguished marks of respect.

While he remained in the North, he conceived the project of forming an union between the two Churches, and for this purpose held conferences with several of the Presbyterian ministers on the restoration of episcopacy. A striking feature, indeed, in his character was, that of being a projector; at once both an effect and a cause of his perpetual embarrassments. A plan for conveying fish alive to market, for which he obtained a patent in 1718, instead of retrieving his affairs, only involved them more deeply.

In 1719, he published a 'Letter to the Earl of Oxford,' concerning a bill for limiting the peerage, which he had previously opposed in the House of Commons.\* He, also, wrote against it in a periodical paper called the 'Plebeian;' upon which occasion, Addison opposed him in another periodical paper, entitled the 'Old Whig.'

About this time, his licence for acting plays was revoked, and his patent at the instance of the Lord Chamberlain rendered ineffectual; a stroke the more afflictive, as it came from the hand of one to whom he had dedicated his political writings, and whose patronage he most gratefully acknowledges. This was the Duke of Newcastle, who upon his appointment to the Chamberlainship, sent for Steele and his co-partners, and in an absolute manner offered them a licence, demanding the resignation of their patent,

\* He voted for the repeal of the Triennial Act, and of the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts.

which Sir Richard presumed as absolutely to refuse. He, at the same time, petitioned the King for his protection, in the grant which he had conferred upon him. Thus the matter rested for many months. The next molestation which the managers received was, the Chamberlain's order to dismiss Mr. Cibber. They obeyed: but Steele in a Letter to the Duke, expressed his sorrow, that 'his Grace would give him no better occasion of showing his duty than by bearing oppression from him.' The reply was a message, forbidding the author of it 'ever to visit him, or to write or speak to him any more.' Steele, immediately, appealed to the public. He had recently formed the plan of a periodical paper, under the title of the 'Theatre,' of which some numbers had already appeared:\* and, in this, he gave a particular detail of the origin and progress of the whole affair. Soon afterward he published, 'The State of the Case between the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, and the Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians, with the Opinions of Pem-

\* It was in No. 12 of this publication, that Steele inserted the beautiful contrast between himself and Mr. Addison: "There never was a more strict friendship, than between these gentlemen; nor had they ever any difference, but what proceeded from their different way of pursuing the same thing. The one with patience, foresight, and temperate address always awaited and stemmed the torrent; while the other often plunged himself into it, and was as often taken out by the temper of him, who stood weeping on the bank for his safety, whom he could not dissuade from leaping into it. Thus these two men lived for some years last past, shunning each other, but still preserving the most passionate concern for their mutual welfare. But when they met, they were as unreserved as boys, and talked of the greatest affairs, upon which they saw where they differed, without pressing (what they knew impossible) to convert each other."



berton, Northy, and Parker concerning the Theatre.' In this pamphlet he computes the loss, which he had sustained by the measure in question, at little less than 10,000*l*. He then declares, that he never did one act to provoke the attempt: "nor does the Chamberlain pretend to assign any direct reason of forfeiture, but openly and wittingly declares, 'He will ruin Steele;' which, in a man in his circumstances against one in mine, is as great as the humour of Malagene in the comedy, who valued himself upon his activity in tripping up cripples."

While Steele was sinking under this persecution, he was rudely attacked from another quarter. At the commencement of his 'Theatre,' he had assumed the name of Sir John Edgar; and, under that appellation, he was now most injuriously treated by Dennis in a scurrilous pamphlet, entitled 'The Character and Conduct of Sir John Edgar, called by himself Sole Monarch of the Stage in Drury Lane, and his three Deputy Governors; in two Letters to Sir John Edgar.' To this insult he replied in the 'Theatre;' treating his adversary, as the impotence of the attack was unworthy a serious rebuke, with his usual gayety and good humour.

In the midst of these private concerns, he found time to employ his pen in the service of the public, by writing against the mischievous South Sea scheme. His first piece on this topic was called, 'The Crisis of Property.' This was, speedily, followed by 'A Nation a Family; or, A Plan of the Improvement of the South Sea Proposals.' He, likewise, introduced the subject into the 'Theatre;' and, by his spirited opposition to the project, greatly increased his reputation as a patriot.

When his patent for the theatre was revoked, his friend Sir Robert Walpole had resigned his place of First Commissioner of the Treasury: but in the beginning of the year 1721, he was recalled to that station, and Sir Richard quickly experienced the benefit of his reinstatement. Within a few weeks, he was restored to his former authority in Drury Lane.

Under these happier circumstances, it was not long before he brought upon the stage his 'Conscious Lovers,' which has long stood at the head of moral and sentimental comedies, with the greatest applause. The profits of this play, accruing from the representation, must have been considerable; and he published it soon afterward, with a dedication to the King, for which he received a munificent present of 500*l*. But, notwithstanding this royal bounty, he was soon afterward compelled to throw his affairs into the hands of lawyers and trustees: his share in the play-house was sold, and a law-suit commenced with the other managers, which in 1726 was determined against him.

His heedless prodigality having brought him into this situation, he determined, out of a principle of justice to his creditors, to withdraw himself from the expenses of the capital, while he had yet a reasonable prospect of satisfying their demands. Accordingly, he retired to his seat at Langunnor, near Caermarthen, in Wales. But his good intentions were, in a great measure, disappointed: for he had not been long in this retirement, before he was seized with a paralytic disorder, which vitally impaired his understanding; and having languished for some time, he died September 21, 1729, and was privately interred ac-

cording to his own desire, in the church of Caermarthen.

He was a man of undissembled and extensive benevolence; a friend to the friendless, and as far as his circumstances would permit, a father to the orphan. His works are chaste and manly; he himself admired Virtue, and he drew her as lovely as she is. He celebrates a generous action; with a warmth peculiar to a good heart. He was a stranger to the most distant appearance of envy or malevolence, never jealous of any man's growing reputation,\* and so far from arrogating any praise to himself from his conjunction with Addison, that he was the first who desired him to distinguish his papers in the 'Spectator,' and after the death of that friend was a faithful guardian of his fame. His greatest error was, want of economy. It is said, in Cibber's 'Lives of the Poets,' "He was the most agreeable, and (if we may be allowed the expression) the most innocent rake that ever trod the rounds of indulgence."

"In the 'Tatler' (observes one of his contemporaries) he began a work, which at once refined our language and improved our morals. None ever attempted with more success to form the mind to virtue, or polish the manners of common life; none ever touched the passions in that pleasing prevailing method, or so well inculcated the most useful and instructive lessons. I say, none did ever thus happily perform so important a work as these illustrious col-

\* Before Pope's *Messiah* was inserted in the *Spectator*, the author submitted it to the perusal of Steele, and corrected it in compliance with his criticisms. From Pope this was no inconsiderable tribute to the judgement of Steele.

legues, who by adapting themselves to the pleasures, promoted the best virtues of human nature; insinuated themselves by all the arts of fine persuasion; employed the most delicate wit and humour in the cause of truth and good sense;\* nor gave offence to the most rigid devotees or loosest debauchees, but soon grew popular, though advocates of virtue.

“He spoke in parliament, and appeared from the press, with a warm and generous freedom. He differed from those in authority, without libelling their persons: no scandalous parallels, no ungentlemanlike invectives or womanish railings, are to be found in his writings. He spoke to facts, and things of public concern, nor invented nor revived any little stories to blacken the reputation of others: in short, he was at war with no man’s fortunes or places; and he greatly despised all lucrative considerations.

“Add this to his character, he had an enthusiasm of honour, insomuch that he was always most ready to appear for the truth, when it was most difficult and dangerous: he thought himself obliged to stand in the breach, when no man else would; and his intrepidity was a public advantage.

“Witness his memorable Address to the Clergy in Defence of the Revolution; I mean, his ‘Crisis,’ for

\* Perhaps, however, in it’s reference to the Bangorian controversy, though the peevishness of Bishop Blackall (so admirably parodied in the Letters of the Puppet-showman) deserved reprehension, it handled a subject too serious for the kind of ridicule made use of: and, assuredly, it’s wit was mis-employed upon the Royal Society, “of which the enemies,” says Dr. Johnson, “were for some time very numerous and very acrimonious, for what reason it is hard to conceive; since the philosophers professed not to advance doctrines, but to produce facts.” (*Life of Butler.*)

which he was immortalised by the resentment of his enemies, and by the noble stand he made against them in his brave defence. For this he was expelled the House of Commons, while he triumphed in the judgement of his country; and raised such a spirit in the people by his writings, as greatly contributed to save our declining liberties, and establish the precarious Succession.

“Such was his conduct, such his character, which was invariably honest.\* He flattered not his friends in their power, nor insulted his enemies in their distress: he opposed any measures, which he could not approve; and exactly adhered to that excellent sentence, *fari quæ sentiat*.

“This, indeed, was his principle; and if ever man always acted inviolably by his opinion, or dared to preserve his integrity upon all occasions, Sir Richard Steele was the person.”

By his second wife he had two sons, Richard and Eugene,† and a daughter, Elizabeth. The latter alone survived him. She was married young, in 1732, to the Hon. John Trevor, then one of the Welsh Judges, and afterward Baron Trevor of Bromham; and had issue by him a daughter named Diana, who was remarkably beautiful, but unhappily an idiot.

\* Whiston, however, has related that, having once met with Steele after he had given a vote in parliament contrary to some former declarations, and reproached him for his inconsistency, the Knight replied, “Mr. Whiston, you can walk on foot, but I cannot.”

† Godson to the celebrated Prince of that name, of whom Steele has drawn up a deservedly high character in the ‘Spectator,’ No. 340, dated March 31, 1712. A little before this time, the Savoyard General had made a visit to London.

Beside the 'Epistolary Correspondence of Sir Richard Steele,' Mr. Nichols, also, republished several of his pieces in one volume 8vo., in a collection entitled, 'The Town-Talk ; The Fish-Pool ; The Plebeian ; The Old Whig ; The Spinster, &c. By the authors of the 'Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian ;' with notes and illustrations.

## FRANCIS ATTERBURY,

BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.\*

[1662—1731.]

**F**RANCIS ATTERBURY was born at Milton or Middleton Keynes near Newport Pagnel in Buckinghamshire, March 6, 1662-3. He was the son of Dr. Lewis Atterbury, Rector of Milton, and was educated on the foundation at Westminster School. Thence he removed to Christ Church, Oxford, where he speedily distinguished himself by his wit and learning. Of the elegance of his taste and his classical attainments he gave early proofs, in a Latin version of Mr. Dryden's 'Absalom and Achitophel,' † a translation of two Odes and part of an Epistle of Horace, an Eclogue of Virgil, and an Idyll of Theocritus, a Latin Elegy and two Latin Epigrams, two short Songs, an Impromptu, and an English Epigram upon the fan of Miss Osborne, whom he subsequently married. ‡ It is rather singular, that his name should not have appeared in any of the

\* AUTHORITIES. *Biographia Britannica*, Atterbury's *Epistolary Correspondence*, and Coxe's *Life of Sir Robert Walpole*.

† Published in 1682.

‡ She was of the family of the Duke of Leeds, was a celebrated beauty, and had a fortune of 7000*l*.

complimentary verses ('*Luctus*,' or '*Gratulationes*') which usually issued from the academical press upon public occasions.\* His maturer pen, however, produced some political squibs, and (more to his credit) some elegant epitaphs. In 1690, his zeal for the memory of a favourite writer induced him to compose a Preface to the '*Second Part of Mr. Waller's Poems*.' In 1684, he edited the '*Ανθολογία, seu Selecta quædam Poemata Italorum, quæ Latinè scripserunt*;' which was republished in an enlarged form by Mr. Pope in 1740, with the omission of his friend's excellent Preface!\*

He took the degree of B.A. in 1684, and of M.A. in 1687. In the latter of these years he published, in opposition to Obadiah Walker (who had assumed the name of Abraham Woodhead) a popish writer, '*An Answer to some Considerations on the Spirit of Martin Luther, and the Original of the Reformation*.' This spirited performance, though it did not escape animadversion, induced Burnet to rank him among the divines justly signalised by their admirable defences of the Protestant faith; and in the author's speech at his subsequent trial, as well as by his counsel, it was referred to as a conclusive proof of his zeal in that cause. During his stay at the University, he

\* The admirable translation of Cato's Speech, '*It must be so, &c.*' into Latin iambics, ascribed by common fame to Atterbury, we are assured (as is elsewhere stated) by Mr. Horace Walpole, "was the work of Dr. Henry Bland, afterward Master and Provost of Eton, and Dean of Durham: Sir Robert Walpole himself having given it to Mr. Addison, who was extremely surprised at the fidelity and beauty of it." See the '*Spectator*,' No. 628, on '*Eternity*.'



took an active part\* in the celebrated controversy between Dr. Bentley and the Hon. Charles Boyle, afterward Earl of Orrery, concerning the genuineness of Phalaris' Epistles; and wrote indeed more than half the book, published under the name of the latter, who for four months was his pupil. He was not quite satisfied, however, with his situation at Oxford, thinking himself qualified for more active and important scenes. In a letter to his father, dated Oct. 24, 1690, he says, "My pupil I never had a thought of parting with, till I left Oxford. I wish I could part with him to-morrow on that score; for I am perfectly wearied with this nauseous circle of small affairs, that can now neither divert nor instruct me. I was made, I am sure, for another scene, and another sort of conversation; though it has been my hard luck to be pinned down to this. I have thought and thought again, Sir, and for some years, nor have I ever been able to think otherwise, than that I am losing time every minute I stay here. The only benefit I ever propose to myself by the place is, studying; and that I am not able to compass. Mr. Boyle takes up half my time, and I grudge it him not; for he is a fine gentleman, and while I am with him, I will do what I can to make him a man. College and university business take up a great deal more, and I

\* In a letter dated 'Chelsea, 1698,' he informs us, the matter had cost him some time and trouble. "In laying the design of the book, in writing above half of it, in reviewing a good part of the rest, in transcribing the whole and attending the press, half a year of my life went away." The whole was the combined effort of a club of wits; of which Atterbury appears, in this instance at least, to have been the President.

am forced to be useful to the Dean in a thousand particulars: so that I have very little time."

His father, in reply, observes: "I know not what to think of your uneasiness. It shows unlike a Christian, and savours neither of temper nor consideration. I am troubled to remember it is habitual. You used to say, 'When you had your degrees, you should be able to swim without bladders.' You seemed to rejoice at your becoming Moderator, and of your *quantum* and Sub-lecturer. But neither of these pleased you: nor was you willing to take those pupils the house afforded you, when master; nor do your lectures please, or noblemen satisfy you. But you make yourself and friends uneasy: cannot trust Providence.

"Do your duty, and serve God in your station, until you are called to somewhat better. Man's ways are not in himself, nor can all your projecting change colour of one of your hairs, which are numbered, a sparrow falls not to the ground without a divine oversight. What may we think of our stations? You need not doubt, but I could wish you all the great things you are capable of; but I can neither secure them to you nor myself, but must leave all to time and Providence. I am not wanting in pains and prospect, and deny myself more in toiling and sparing than you ever did or will do; and all I see to little purpose, when it is of no better effect with you."

Though his application to study was intense, both in polite literature and in mathematics, he was eminently distinguished for his social qualities. Among his more immediate friends were classed Smalridge,

Whitfield, Hickman, Charlett, Harrington. Newton, King, Travell, Gough, and the two brothers Robert and John Freind. By his tutors at Westminster, Busby and Knipe, he had been particularly noticed, as he was subsequently at Christ Church by Dr. Aldrich. At the latter seminary, in 1690, he appears to have held the censorship, as well as the catechetical lectureship founded by Dr. Busby. About this period he, probably, took orders, and repaired to London: for, in 1691, he was elected lecturer of St. Bride's, London; and, in 1693, minister and preacher at Bridewell Chapel. He was, soon afterward, appointed one of the Royal Chaplains. The earliest of his sermons in print was preached before Queen Mary at Whitehall, May 29, 1692.

In 1694, he delivered his celebrated Discourse, at Bridewell Chapel, on 'The Power of Charity to cover Sin;' to which Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, afterward Bishop of Winchester, published some 'Exceptions.'

In 1698, he was appointed by Sir John Trevor, a great discernor of abilities, Preacher at the Rolls Chapel.

In 1700, he engaged in the controversy with Dr. Wake, subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury, and others concerning Convocations. His first piece upon this subject was entitled, 'The Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation stated and vin-

\* In the Postscript to his 'Second Letter to Dr. Atterbury,' subsequently to their controversy, mentioned below, concerning 'The Advantages of Virtue with respect to the present Life.' In this he excuses Atterbury, and not without just grounds, of having asserted, that 'God will accept duty (Charity) in lieu of many others.'

dedicated, in answer to a late book of Dr. Wake's, entitled, 'The Authority of Christian Princes over their Ecclesiastical Synods asserted, &c.'\* In this piece he treated his antagonist's work as 'a shallow empty performance, written without any knowledge of our constitution, or any skill in the particular subject of debate; upon such principles, as are destructive of all our civil, as well as ecclesiastical liberties; and with such aspersions on the clergy, both dead and living, as were no less injurious to the body, than his doctrine.' "The very best construction (he tells us) that has been put upon Dr. Wake's attempt by candid readers is, that it was an endeavour to advance the prerogative of the prince in church-matters as high, and to depress the interest of the subject spiritual as low, as ever he could with any colour of truth."—"Were all he says strictly true and justifiable, yet whether the labouring the point so heartily as he does, and showing himself so willing to prove the church to have no rights and privileges, be a very decent part in a clergyman, I leave his friends to consider. But when all a man advances is not only ill-designed, but

\* This celebrated work underwent a serious scrutiny by the Judges in consultation, as being supposed to affect the royal prerogative. The Chief Justice Holt was strongly of that opinion, in common with Archbishop Tenison, and other high authorities. To every attempt, however, made to prejudice King William against him, his Majesty remained indifferent; and if the author incurred heavy censure on one side, on the other he was recompensed by the steady attachment of Sir Jonathan Trelawny Bishop of Exeter, Lawrence Earl of Rochester, and Dr. Sprat. The first edition had appeared anonymously; but, in 1701, he published a second (greatly enlarged) with his name, and a dedication to the two Archbishops, which was speedily answered by Drs. Hody, Kennet, and Wake.

ill-grounded, and his principles are as false as they are scandalous (as I have evidently proved his to be), there are no names and censures too bad to be bestowed on such writers and their writings."

Against this performance Bishop Burnet wrote a piece, in which he observes, that "he had so entirely laid aside the spirit of Christ and the character of a Christian, that without large allowances of charity one can hardly think that he did once reflect on the obligations he lay under to follow the humility, the meekness, and the gentleness of Christ. So far from that, he seems to have forgotten the common decencies of a man, or of a scholar."—"A book written with that roughness and acrimony of spirit, if well received, would be a much stronger argument against the expediency of a Convocation, than any he brings or can bring for it."

Dr. Wake, in the Preface to his 'State of the Church and Clergy of England in their Councils, Synods, Convocations, &c.' says that, 'upon his first perusal of Dr. Atterbury's book, he saw such a spirit of wrath and uncharitableness, accompanied with such assurance of the author's abilities for such an undertaking, as he had hardly ever met with in the like degree before.' "In my examination of the whole book (he subjoins) I find in it enough to commend the wit, though not the spirit of him who wrote it. To pay what is due even to an adversary, it must be allowed, that Dr. Atterbury has done all that a man of forward parts and a hearty zeal could do, to defend the cause which he has espoused. He has chosen the most plausible topics of argumentation; and he has given them all the advantage, that either a

sprightly wit or a good assurance could afford them. But he wanted one thing; he had not truth on his side: and error, though it may be palliated, and by an artificial manager (such as Dr. Atterbury, without controversy, is) be disguised, so as to deceive sometimes even a wary reader, yet it will not bear a strict examination. And accordingly I have shown him, notwithstanding all his other endowments, to have deluded the world with a mere romance; and from the one end of his discourse to the other to have delivered a history, not of what was really done, but of what it was his interest to make it believed had been done."

But Atterbury's zeal for the high claims of the Church gave so much satisfaction to the Lower House of Convocation, that they returned him their thanks for his book in 1701; and the University of Oxford also conferred upon him the degree of D.D. by diploma, without performing exercises or paying fees. Before this, he had, also, been appointed Archdeacon of Totness by the Bishop of Exeter. The principles of that Prelate, respecting both Church and State, were extremely similar to those of Dr. Atterbury, who frequently corresponded with him concerning the transactions of the Convocation. In one of Atterbury's letters occurs the following passage:— "Things go not well here; the spirit of moderation prevails to an immoderate degree, and the Church is dropped by consent of both parties. Carstairs and the agent for the Irish Presbyterians are more familiarly seen, and more easily received, at the levees of some great ministers (who are called our friends) than honest men." In another, dated March 11, 1700-1, he says, "Dr. Jane has taken

the chair, in the Committee for inspecting books written against the truth of the Christian religion. We sat to-day; and several books were brought in to be censured, and an extract from one Toland's 'Christianity not Mysterious,' laid before us. Dr. Jane is very hearty in it, and moved, that we might sit *de die in diem* till we had finished our business. I bring in to morrow a book of one Craig, a Scotchman, chaplain to the Bishop of Sarum (Dr. Burnet), to prove by mathematical calculation that, 'according to the pretension of the probability of historical evidence, in such a space of time (which he mentions) the Christian religion will not be credible.' It is dedicated to the Bishop. We have made a previous order, that 'nothing done in this Committee shall be divulged, till all is finished;' and, therefore, I must humbly beg your Lordship to keep these particulars secret."

Upon the accession of Queen Anne, in 1702, Dr. Atterbury was appointed one of her Chaplains in Ordinary; and, about this time, joined some other learned divines in revising an intended edition of the Greek Testament, with Greek scholia collected chiefly from the Fathers by Archdeacon Gregory. He, also, published several additional pieces relative to the rights and powers of Convocations. In 1703, when Dr. Hopper, Dean of Canterbury, was nominated to the bishopric of St. Asaph's, Atterbury wrote in the following terms to his friend Dr. Trelawny: "If the Dean of Canterbury be made Bishop, with a design to give him the chief hand in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs (as is supposed, and as indeed the circumstances of his advancement seem to show, for that sought him, and not he it: and my Lord Treasurer wrote a letter to him, telling him 'it was

the Queen's command that he should take it, and necessary in order to her affairs;' and your Lordship sees that he hath more favour showed him in the *commendam*, than ever any Bishop in your Lordship's time had). If so, my Lord, I am sure to be oppressed and kept under, as much as if Archbishop Tillotson were alive and at the helm: for that I prepare myself, and God's will be done in it! However, let the Dean of Canterbury be as great as he will, I must take the liberty to say, that it was my poor labours that made him so. For had not that book I wrote procured a Convocation, and given him by that means an opportunity of forming a strong body of the clergy, and placing himself at the head of them; he could not have made it necessary for the crown to take notice of him, in order to bring things to a temper, but would have continued Dean of Canterbury still. In return for this, I know I am to be neglected and sacrificed, as far as he is able to bring it about: but, as long as I have your protection and favour, I will not be discouraged."

As Archdeacon of Totness, Dr. Atterbury addressed several visitation-charges\* to the clergy, in one of which, delivered in 1703, occurs the following passage: "The men, who take pleasure in traducing their brethren, have endeavoured to expose those of them who appeared steady in this cause, under the invidious name of 'High Churchmen.' What they mean by that word, I cannot tell. But if

\* Four of them accompany his Epistolary Correspondence, which was completed by Mr. Nichols, in five vols. Svo. in 1798, and in addition to his tracts contains a vast mass of curious and interesting ecclesiastical history, prefaced by a Life drawn up with that writer's accustomed accuracy.



a 'High Churchman' be one, who is for keeping up the present ecclesiastical constitution in all it's parts, without making any illegal abatements in favour of such as either openly oppose or secretly undermine it; one, who though he lives peaceably with all men of different persuasions, and endeavours to win them over by methods of lenity and kindness, yet is not charitable and moderate enough to depart from the Establishment (even while it stands fixed by a law) in order to meet them half-way in their opinions and practices; one, who thinks the Canons and Rubric of the Church, and the acts of parliament made in favour of it, ought strictly to be observed and kept up to, till they shall, upon a prospect of a thorough compliance from those without (if such a case may be supposed) be released in any respect by a competent authority: I say, if this be the character of a 'High Churchman,' how odious a sound soever that name may carry, I see no reason why any man should be displeased with the title, because such a 'High Churchman' is certainly a good Christian and a good Englishman."

In October, 1704, he was advanced to the deanery of Carlisle, and by his steadfast friend Trelawny made Canon of Exeter. Two years afterward, he had a dispute with Mr. Hoadly, concerning 'the Advantages of Virtue with respect to the Present Life.'\* In

\* This controversy originated from Atterbury's Sermon at the funeral of Mr. Bennet a bookseller, in which, as Hoadly thought, he had laid down some pernicious propositions. In a long preface to this Discourse, the preacher from the concurrent testimonies of the ablest expositors and divines, especially of the English Church, vindicated his interpretation of the text, 1 Cor. xv. 19. This Preface was answered by Hoadly in another Letter; and from the Preface to his 'Tracts' we learn, that his object in both was, 'to establish the tendency of virtue and morality to the

1708, he published a volume of Fourteen Sermons ; of which that on ‘ the Power of Charity to cover Sin,’ involved him in a second conflict with his old antagonist Hoadly : another likewise, entitled ‘ the Scornor incapable of true Wisdom,’ subjected him to some acrimonious censure from a friend of Sir Robert Howard, to whose ‘ History of Religion ’ he was supposed to have alluded.

At the beginning of the year 1709, he appears to have been greatly offended, because the Queen had prorogued the Convocation. Dean Swift, in one of his letters written at this period, says ; “ As for the Convocation, the Queen had thought fit to prorogue it, though at the expense of Dr. Atterbury’s displeasure, who was designed their Prolocutor and is now raving at the disappointment.” In this year, occurred his third controversy with Mr. Hoadly, concerning the doctrine of Non-resistance. The latter in his tract entitled, ‘ The Measures of Submission to the Civil Magistrate considered,’ had advanced some positions, which Atterbury endeavoured to confute in an elegant Latin Sermon preached before the London Clergy.\* During this debate Hoadly so highly distinguished himself, that the House of Commons, in an

present happiness of such a creature as man is ;’ a point, in his opinion, of the utmost importance to the Gospel itself.

\* To the examination of this Discourse Hoadly was led, in consequence of his being charged by Atterbury (who sneeringly called him, “ the modest and moderate Mr. Hoadly ”) with ‘ having adopted toward the body of the Established Clergy language more disdainful and reviling, than it would have become him to have used toward his presbyterian antagonist upon any provocation ; charging them with rebellion in the Church, whilst he himself was preaching it up in the State.’

Address to the Queen, represented the signal services which he had rendered to civil and religious liberty.

In 1710, came on the celebrated trial of Dr. Sacheverell, whose speech was generally supposed to have been drawn up by Atterbury,\* in conjunction with Drs. Smalridge and Freind. The same year, he was chosen Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, and had the chief management of affairs in that assembly. In 1711, a Committee was appointed to draw up a representation of the present state of the church, and of religion in the nation; and, after some heads had been agreed upon, Atterbury (according to Burnet) procured that the completion of the matter might be left to himself: upon which he composed a most virulent declamation, defaming all the administrations from the time of the Revolution. After a long and bitter invective upon "the removal of that restraint, which the wisdom of former times had laid upon the press," he concludes: "But that, for which we at present in most earnest and most humble manner address ourselves to your Majesty is, that by your royal interposition an act may be obtained for restraining the present excessive and scandalous liberty of printing wicked books at home, or importing the like from abroad, in such manner as to the wisdom of your Majesty and parliament shall seem most expedient: for, as we take this to have been the chief source and cause of those evils whereof we now complain, so we question not but that the removal of it would be the most speedy and effectual cure of them."

\* The assistance was acknowledged perhaps, by implication, in a testamentary bequest of 500*l*.

The Lower House, it appears, agreed to Atterbury's draught; but the Bishops laid it aside, and ordered another representation to be couched in more general and more moderate terms.

In 1712, notwithstanding the strong interest of Dr. Smalridge, Atterbury was appointed by the Tory administration of Queen Anne, Dean of Christ Church. Accustomed, however, as (we learn from Stackhouse) the Canons had been to the mild and gentle government of one, who had every thing in him that was endearing to mankind, they ill-brooked the imperious and despotic manner of his successor. Such scandalous quarrels (he adds) ensued among them, that "it was thought adviseable to remove him, on purpose to restore peace and tranquillity to that learned body, and that other colleges might not take the infection: a new method of obtaining preferment by indulging such a temper, and pursuing such practices as least of all deserve it. In a word, wherever he came, under one pretence or other, but chiefly under the notion of asserting his rights and privileges, he had a rare talent of fomenting discord, and blowing the coals of contention; which made a learned successor (Smalridge) in two of his preferments, complain of his hard fate in being forced to carry water after him, to extinguish the flames which his litigiousness had every where occasioned." In 1716, a somewhat curious correspondence took place between his Lordship and Swift, who had consulted him upon the management of his refractory chapter. He continued, in his support of high ecclesiastical claims, to manifest the most violent zeal against heresy. In a letter written by him to Bishop Trelawny, at the beginning of the year 1713, he says, "I entirely agree to all your Lordship says

in the former part of your letter, with respect to the blasphemies of Mr. Whiston and Dr. Clarke (for I cannot give the tenets, even of the latter, a softer name); and wish with all my soul it were as much in my power, as it is in my inclination, to procure any thing to be done (either in, or out of, Convocation) that might effectually check and discourage them."

In June, 1713, he was advanced to the bishopric of Rochester and deanery of Westminster. At this period he was held in such estimation at court, that he was not unfrequently consulted upon points of the utmost importance. It has been stated indeed, that he had even raised his views as high as the Primacy;\* and that his credit with the Queen and her ministry would probably have secured it to him upon a vacancy, had not his hopes been intercepted by her Majesty's death. Dr. Warton however affirms, "It was with difficulty Queen Anne was persuaded to make Atterbury a Bishop; which she did at last on the repeated importunities of Lord Harcourt, who pressed her Majesty to do it, because she had before disappointed him in not placing Sacheverell on the bench. After her decease, Atterbury vehemently urged his friends to proclaim the Pretender, and on their refusal upbraided them for their timidity with many oaths; for he was accustomed to swear on any strong provocation." †

That he looked, with no very moderate ambition, to the wealthy see of Winchester, is a more probable circumstance; and of this the reversion (it is said) with a pension in the mean while of 5,000*l. per ann.*, and an ample provision for his son-in-law, was offered to him, if he would cease to oppose Sir Robert Walpole; but in vain. The contrivance for his ruin, it is added, was then determined upon.

† He offered to assist at the proclamation in his lawn-sleeves,

Under George I., to whose succession he had always been pertinaciously adverse, his tide of prosperity began to turn : his politics were well known ; and he was coldly received at court. In return, he constantly opposed the measures of government in the House of Lords, and drew up some of the warmest protests with his own hands. At the close of the year 1714, he is supposed, in conjunction with Bolingbroke and Swift, to have written the pamphlet (by government deemed a libel) entitled, ‘ English Advice to the Freeholders of England : ’ and, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, he even refused to sign the ‘ Declaration of the Bishops ’ in favour of the crown. In this refusal Smalridge concurred, on the plea of some unbecoming reflexions cast upon a party, not inferior (as they alleged) to any in point of loyalty. Yet when Lord Sunderland courted the Tories, and made overtures to Atterbury as to the leader of the disaffected party, his conduct was so equivocal, that his friends reproached him with having deserted his principles, and by his enemies he was charged with having engaged in a conspiracy because his demand of the See of Winchester had been rejected. But, in listening to Sunderland, he might have hoped to dupe him into espousing the cause of the Pretender ; and his inflexibility of character was such, that one of the least probable of allegations against him must have been that of apostasy.

and when Ormond and Bolingbroke declined taking any vigorous step, is reported to have exclaimed, “ Never was a better cause lost for want of spirit.” It is certain, that he was involved in the schemes of Bolingbroke ; and a letter from that minister, soon after the Queen’s death, proves the extreme confidence, with which he had been honoured.

In 1722, however, he was apprehended on suspicion of being concerned in a plot\* in favour of the exiled family; and, after an examination before the Privy Council, committed to the Tower. Here he was kept in rigorous confinement, and as the administration had not evidence sufficient for his conviction, on the twenty third of March, 1722-3, a bill was brought into the Lower House 'for inflicting upon him certain pains and penalties;' of which a copy was sent to him; and, upon his application, counsel† and solicitors were granted for his defence. Under these circumstances, he applied by petition to the House of Peers, for their direction and advice: and on the fourth of April he acquainted the Commons by letter, that 'he was determined to give them no trouble in relation to the bill depending therein; but should be ready to make his defence against it, when it should be argued in another House, of which he had the honour to be a member.' On the ninth, the bill passed the Lower House, and was the same day sent up to the Lords for their concurrence. On the sixth of May, he was brought to

\* Of this plot, as stated in the 'Life of Walpole,' the first intimation (it appears from Sir Luke Schaub's Correspondence) came from the Regent Duke of Orleans, to whom it had been communicated by the agents of the Pretender, in the hope of receiving assistance to carry it into execution. In the prosecution of Atterbury, Walpole took a very active share.

This conspiracy, like many other abortive projects of a similar description, has been believed, or disbelieved, rather from feelings of party than principles of ratiocination. The evidence was, undoubtedly, only circumstantial and presumptive; yet the moral inferences from it were all but irresistible.

† Sir Constantine Phipps and Mr. Wynne, who both displayed great zeal and ability upon the occasion.\*

Westminster to make his defence, which he did by his counsel. He was, subsequently, permitted to plead for himself. His eloquent speech opened in the following manner :

“ MY LORDS,

“ I have been under a very long and close confinement, in which I have been treated by the person, in whose immediate custody I was, with such severity and so great indignity, as I believe no prisoner in the Tower of my age, infirmities, function, and rank ever underwent : by which means, what little strength and use of my limbs I had, when committed in August last, are now so far impaired, that I am unfit to appear before your Lordships on any occasion ; especially, when I am to make my defence against a bill of so extraordinary a nature and tendency.

“ I mention this, at the entrance of what I have to say, not so much in the way of complaint as excuse ; hoping that, if I should fail in any part of my own justification, your Lordships will impute such defect to the true cause, not my want of innocence or arguments to support it (my counsel, I thank them, have amply showed that I want neither) but to the great weakness of body and mind, under which I at present labour. Such usage, such hardships of every kind, such insults as I have undergone might have broken a more resolute spirit, and a much firmer constitution than has fallen to my share.”

He then stated the proceedings and resolutions of the House of Commons against him ; and speaking of the pains and penalties, which were to be inflicted against him by the bill, added, “ The person thus



sentenced below to be deprived of all his preferments, to suffer perpetual exile, to be rendered incapable of any office or employment or even of any pardon from the crown, and with whom no man must hereafter converse or correspond by letter, message, or otherwise, without being guilty of felony, is a Bishop of this Church, and a Lord of Parliament; the very first instance of a member of this House so treated, so prejudged, so condemned originally in another! And may it be the last! Though such precedents, once set, seldom stand single; but are apt, even without a blessing, to be “fruitful and multiply” in after-times: a reflexion, that deserves seriously to be considered by those who, observing that this case has never before in all its circumstances happened, may too easily conclude that it will never happen again!”

He, next, entered into a particular examination of the nature and circumstances of the evidence against him; observing, “Our law has taken care, that there should be a more clear and full proof of treason, than of any other crime whatsoever: and reasonable it is, that a crime attended with the highest penalties should be made out by the clearest and fullest evidence. And yet here is a charge of high treason brought against me, not only without sufficient evidence, but without any evidence at all, *i. e.* any such evidence, as the law of the land knows and allows. And what is not evidence at law (pardon me, for what I am going to say) can never be made such, in order to punish what is past, but by a violation of the law. For the law, which prescribes the nature of the proof required, is as much the law of the land, as that which declares the crime; and both

must join to convict a man of guilt. And it seems equally unjust to declare any sort of proof legal, which was not so before a prosecution commenced for any act done, as it would be to declare the act itself *ex post facto* to be criminal.

“ Shall I, my Lords, be deprived of all that is valuable to an Englishman (for in the circumstances, to which I am to be reduced, life itself is scarcely valuable) by such an evidence as this ; such an evidence, as would not be admitted in any other cause in any other court, nor allowed, I verily believe, to condemn a Jew in the Inquisition of Spain or Portugal ? Shall it be received against me, a Bishop of this Church, and a member of this House, in a charge of high treason brought in the high Court of Parliament ? God forbid !

“ My ruin is not of that moment to any man, or any number of men, as to make it worth their while to violate (or even seem to violate) the constitution in any degree to procure it. In preserving and guarding that against all attempts, the safety and the happiness of every Englishman lies. But when once by such extraordinary steps as these we depart from the fixed rules and forms of justice, and try untrodden paths, no man knows whither they will lead him, or where he shall be able to stop when pressed by the crowd that follow him.

“ Though I am worthy of no regard, though whatever is done to me may be looked upon as just, yet your Lordships will have some regard to your own lasting interests, and those of the state ; and not introduce into criminal cases a sort of evidence, with which our constitution is not acquainted, and which under the appearance of supporting it at first may be

afterward made use of (I speak my honest fears) gradually to undermine and destroy it.

“ For God’s sake, my Lords, lay aside these extraordinary proceedings! Set not these new and dangerous precedents! And I for my part will voluntarily and cheerfully go into perpetual exile, and please myself with the thought that I have in some measure preserved the constitution by quitting my country; and I will live, wherever I am, praying for it’s prosperity, and die with the words of Father Paul in my mouth, which he used of the Republic of Venice, “ *Esto perpetua!*” The way to perpetuate it is, not to depart from it. Let me depart; but let that continue fixed on the immoveable foundations of law and justice, and stand for ever.”\*

On the seventeenth of March, the bill passed the House of Lords, and soon afterward received the royal assent. It’s tenor was as follows: “ That after the first of June, 1723, he should be deprived of all his offices, dignities, promotions, and benefices ecclesiastical whatsoever, and that thenceforth the same shall be actually void, as if he were naturally dead: that he should for ever be disabled, and rendered incapable, from holding or enjoying any office, dignity, or emolument within this realm, or any other his Majesty’s dominions; as also from exercising any

\* In the course of this speech, he mentions “ being engaged in a correspondence with two learned men (Bishop Potter, and Dr. Wall) on settling the times of writing the Four Gospels;” an object, which he steadily pursued during his banishment, and had nearly attained at the time of his death. These learned labours, verified by his published correspondence, amply confirm the assertion of Bishop Newton, that ‘ he wrote little whilst in exile, but a few criticisms on French authors.’

office, ecclesiastical or spiritual, whatever: that he should suffer perpetual exile, and be for ever banished this realm, and all other his Majesty's dominions: that he should depart out of the same by the twenty fifth of the ensuing June; and if he returned into or be found within this realm, or any other his Majesty's dominions, after the said twenty fifth of June, he being thereof lawfully convicted should suffer as a felon without benefit of clergy, and be utterly incapable of any pardon from his Majesty, his heirs, or successors: that all persons who should be aiding and assisting to his return into this realm, or any other his Majesty's dominions, or shall conceal him within the same, being lawfully convicted thereof, should be adjudged guilty of felony without benefit of clergy: that if any of his Majesty's subjects (except such persons, as shall be licensed for that purpose under the sign manual) should after the twenty fifth of June hold any correspondence in person with him, within this realm or without, or by letters, messages, or otherwise, or with any person employed by him, knowing such person to be so employed, they should on conviction be adjudged felons without benefit of clergy: and, lastly, that offences against the Act, committed out of this realm, might be tried within any county of Great Britain.'

This bill was vigorously opposed by many members of both Houses, particularly in the House of Peers by Earl Cowper, though his political principles were widely different from those of the Bishop. It was carried, however, by a majority of 83 to 43. Whether Atterbury indeed was, or was not, guilty of being concerned in the plot with which he was charged, as no proper and legal evidence was pro-

duced against him, these proceedings were wholly unjustifiable and unconstitutional.

Before he left the kingdom, he received the following letter from his intimate friend Mr. Pope : \*

“ Once more I write to you as I promised, and this once, I fear, will be the last ! The curtain will soon be drawn between my friend and me, and nothing left but to wish you ‘ a long good-night.’ May you enjoy a state of repose in this life, not unlike that sleep of the soul which some have believed is to succeed it, where we lie utterly forgetful of that world from which we are gone, and ripening for that to which we are to go ! If you retain any memory of the past, let it only image to you what has pleased you best : sometimes present a dream of an absent friend, or bring you back an agreeable conversation ! But, upon the whole, I hope you will think less of the time past than of the future ; as the former has been less kind to you, than the latter infallibly will be. Do not envy the world your studies ; they will tend to the benefit of men, against whom you can have no complaint, I mean of all posterity : and perhaps, at your time of life, nothing else is worth your care. What is every year of a wise man’s life, but a censure or critique on the past ? Those, whose date is the shortest, live long enough to laugh at one half

\* In a preceding letter, with a view to engage him in “ some great and useful work,” he had reminded him of the names of ‘ Tully, Bacon, and Clarendon, and with no very accurate recollection of their history inquired ; “ Is it not the latter, the disgraced part of their lives, which you most envy, and which you would choose to have lived ? ” Clarendon, indeed, wrote his best works during his banishment ; but the best of Bacon’s were composed before his disgrace, and the best of Tully’s after his return.

of it: the boy despises the infant, the man the boy, the philosopher both, and the Christian all. You may now begin to think your manhood was too much a puerility; and you will never suffer your age to be but a second infancy. The toys and baubles of your childhood are hardly now more below you, than those toys of our riper and of our declining years, the drums and rattles of ambition, and the dirt and bubbles of avarice. At this time, when you are cut off from a little society, and made a citizen of the world at large, you should bend your talents, not to serve a party or a few, but all mankind. Your genius should mount above that mist, in which it's participation and neighbourhood with earth long involved it: to shine abroad and to heaven, ought to be the business and the glory of your present situation. Remember it was at such a time, that the greatest lights of antiquity dazzled and blazed the most, in their retreat, in their exile, or in their death. But why do I talk of dazzling or blazing? It was then that they did good, that they gave light, and that they became guides to mankind.

“Those aims alone are worthy of spirits truly great, and such, I therefore hope, will be yours. Resentment indeed may remain, perhaps cannot be quite extinguished, in the noblest minds; but revenge never will harbour there: higher principles than those of the first, and better principles than those of the latter, will infallibly influence men, whose thoughts and whose hearts are enlarged, and cause them to prefer the whole to any part of mankind, especially to so small a part as one's single self.

“Believe me, my Lord, I look upon you as a spirit entered into another life, as one just upon the edge

of immortality; where the passions and affections must be much more exalted, and where you ought to despise all little views, and all mean retrospects. Nothing is worth your looking back : and therefore look forward, and make (as you can) the world look after you; but take care that it be, not with pity, but with esteem and admiration.

“ I am, with the greatest sincerity, and passion for your fame as well as happiness, yours, &c.

“ A. POPE.”

On the eighteenth of June, 1723, Atterbury embarked on board the Aldborough man of war,\* and landed the Friday following at Calais. On going ashore, being informed that Lord Bolingbroke under the King's pardon had reached the same place on his return to England, with an air of pleasantry he exclaimed, “ Then I am exchanged ! ” † He proceeded to Brussels; but he afterward left that place, and resided at Paris, where he softened the rigours of his exile by study, and by conversation and correspondence with learned men. He, however, occasionally employed his time in a different manner; for from some letters, which were first printed at Edinburgh in 1768 by Sir David Dalrymple, it

\* As his commitment to the Tower, in consequence of his popularity, had occasioned considerable clamors, it was apprehended that his removal aboard the vessel destined to convey him into banishment would have been the signal of insurrection: but, though great numbers of boats attended him to the ship's side, no tumults took place.

† Mr. Pope, also, observed upon the same occasion, that ‘ it was a sign of the nation's being afraid of being over-run with too much politeness, when it could not regain one great man but at the expense of another.’

appears, that in 1725 he engaged in a plot for stirring up a rebellion in the Highlands of Scotland in favour of the Pretender, but the scheme proved abortive. This fact is confirmed by the evidence, not only of the official despatches of Mr. Horace Walpole (then minister at the court of France) and the suspicious communications of spies, but also of his own correspondence with his son-in-law. On the same indisputable authority it is asserted, that he quitted the Pretender's service in 1728, not upon principle, but from disgust. Provoked at the influence of Mar and Dillon, he meanly condescended to cabal against them with Murray and Hay, whose wife was the Pretender's mistress; and upon the success of their intrigues, transferred his jealousy from his enemies to his associates, his revilings from the neglected wife (the Princess Maria Clementina) to the profligate husband, 'whose follies and vices,' he declared, 'excluded all hopes of effectually serving him.' Yet did he not, even then, relinquish his project of obtaining the ascendancy in the exiled court. The fall of Walpole, whom he regarded as the principal support of the reigning family, he anticipated with sanguineness; and, as an inevitable result of that fall, the restoration of the Stuarts. Hopes continually disappointed, and resentments never gratified, a constant desire to return to England, and the perpetual pressure of straitened circumstances, united to depress and harass his unhappy mind.

His exile had been embittered by his separation from his daughter, between whom and himself there existed a very strong mutual affection. This lady, who was married to William Morris Esq., High Bailiff of Westminster, in 1729, though in an in-



firm state of health, conceived an ardent desire to see her father again; and accordingly with great difficulty and suffering travelled to Toulouse, where the Bishop met her. She died,\* a few hours after their meeting. The Bishop, shortly after his loss, addressed the following letter to his intimate friend Mr. Pope: †

\* A pathetic narrative of her decease was drawn up by Mr. Evans, who accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Morris upon this occasion.

† Gay, in his ‘Epistle to Pope,’ had said;

‘ See Rochester approving nods his head,  
And ranks one modern with the mighty dead: ’

and Pope himself (who, as well as Swift, kept up a constant correspondence with him during his banishment) in his ‘Epilogue to the Satires,’ observes;

‘ How pleasing Atterbury’s softer hour!  
How shines his soul unconquer’d in the Tower! ’

How ignorant, however, Pope was of his real character, and how much Atterbury belied his admirable portrait of a good and wise man in exile acting under the influence neither of resentment nor of revenge, was proved by his throwing himself into the service of the Pretender the instant he landed on the Continent.

The origination and progress of Swift’s intimacy with Atterbury is given, at great length, in a note attached by Nichols to the letter written by the former on the promotion of his friend to the deanery of Christ Church, and dated Sept. 1, 1711. It is amusing to compare with the extract from Dr. Stackhouse, given in a former note, the quotation of the Irish Dean, anticipating the farther advancement of the English one, upon the disappointment of the poor College,

*Qui nunc te fruitor credulus aureâ!*

In a subsequent Letter, dated Aug. 3, 1713, from ‘The Country in Ireland’ (*Latebræ nec dulces* as he feelingly observes, *nec si mihi credis, amœna*) congratulating him upon his migration to Westminster, he begs that even his “being made a Bishop may not hinder him from cultivating the politer

Nov. 20, 1729.

“ Yes, dear Sir, I have had all you designed for me ; and have read all, as I read whatever you write, with esteem and pleasure. But your last letter, full of friendship and goodness, gave me such impressions of concern and tenderness, as neither I can express, nor you perhaps with all the force of your imagination fully conceive.

“ I am not yet master enough of myself, after the late wound I have received, to open my very heart to you ; and am not content with less than that, whenever I converse with you. My thoughts are at present vainly, but pleasingly, employed on what I have lost, and can never recover. I know well I ought, for that reason, to call them off to other subjects ; but, hitherto, I have not been able to do it. By giving them the rein a little, and suffering them to spend their force, I hope in some time to check and subdue them. *“Multis fortune vulncribus percussus, huic uni me imperem sensi, et panè succubui.* This is weakness, not wisdom, I own ; and on that account fitter to be trusted to the bosom of a friend, where I may safely lodge all my infirmities. As soon as my mind is in some measure corrected and calmed, I will endeavour to follow your advice, and turn it toward something of use and moment ; if I have still life enough left to do any thing, that is worth reading and preserving. In the mean time, I shall be

studies ;” and, as an example, suggests to him that his predecessor Sprat, “ though of a much inferior genius ” (yet Johnson pronounced, that ‘ each of Sprat’s different books had a distinct and characteristic excellence ’) turned all his thoughts that way.

pleased to hear that you proceed in what you intend, without any such melancholy interruptions as I have met with. You outdo others on all occasions; my hope and my opinion is, that on moral subjects, and in drawing characters, you will outdo yourself. Your mind is as yet unbroken by age and ill accidents; your knowledge and judgement are at the height: use them in writing somewhat that they may teach the present and future times, and if not gain equally the applause of both, may yet raise the envy of the one and secure the admiration of the other. Remember Virgil died at fifty two, and Horace at fifty eight; and, as bad as both constitutions were, yours is yet more delicate and tender. Employ not your precious moments, and great talents, on little men and little things: but choose a subject every way worthy of you, and handle it, as you can, in a manner which nobody else can equal or imitate. As for me, my abilities, if I ever had any, are not what they were; and yet I will endeavour to recollect and employ them:

*gelidas tardante senectâ  
Sanguis hebet, frigentque efficto in corpore vires.*

However, I should be ungrateful to this place, if I did not own that I have gained upon the gout in the South of France much more than I did at Paris, though even there I sensibly improved. What happened to me here last summer was merely the effect of my folly, in trusting too much to a physician, who kept me six weeks on a milk-diet without purging me, contrary to all the rules of the faculty. The milk threw me at last into a fever, and that fever soon produced the gout; which, finding my stomach

weakened by a long disuse of meat, attacked it, and had like at once to have despatched me. The excessive heat of this place concurred to heighten the symptoms: but, in the midst of my distemper, I took a sturdy resolution of retiring thirty miles into the mountains of the Cevennes; and there I soon found relief from the coolness of the air and the verdure of the climate, though not to such a degree as not to feel some relics of those pains in my stomach, which till lately I had never felt. Had I staid, as I intended, there till the end of October, I believe my cure had been perfected: but the earnest desire of meeting one I dearly loved called me abruptly to Montpellier; where, after continuing two months under the cruel torture of a sad and fruitless expectation, I was forced at last to take a long journey to Toulouse: and even there I had missed the person I sought, had she not with great spirit and courage ventured all night up the Garonne to see me, which she above all things desired to do before she died. By that means she was brought where I was between seven and eight in the morning, and lived twenty hours afterward: which time was not lost on either side, but passed in such a manner as gave great satisfaction to both, and such as on her part every way became her circumstances and character: for she had her senses to the very last gasp, and exerted them to give me, in those few hours, greater marks of duty and love than she had done in all her life-time, though she had never been wanting in either. The last words she said to me were the kindest of all; a reflexion on the goodness of God, which had allowed us in this manner to meet once more, before we parted

for ever. Not many minutes after that, she laid herself on her pillow, in a sleeping posture,

—*placidâque ibi demùm morte quievit.*

“ Judge you, Sir, what I felt, and still feel, on this occasion; and spare me the trouble of describing it. At my age, under my infirmities, among utter strangers, how shall I find out proper reliefs and supports! I can have none, but those with which reason and religion furnish me: and on those I lay hold, and make use of, as well as I can; and hope that He, who laid the burthen upon me (for wise and good purposes, no doubt) will enable me to bear it, in like manner as I have borne others, with some degree of fortitude and firmness.

“ You see, how ready I am to relapse into an argument, which I had quitted once before in this letter. I shall, probably, again commit the same fault, if I continue to write: and, therefore, I stop short here; and, with all sincerity, affection, and esteem, bid you adieu, till we meet either in this world, if God pleases, or else in another.

“ A friend I have with me will convey this safely to your hands, though perhaps it may be some time before it reaches you: whenever it does, it will give you a true account of the posture of mind I was in when I wrote it, and which I hope may by that time be a little altered.”

During his residence in France, he was exposed to some trouble from a suspicion of his having facilitated the escape from that country of Father Courayer, who had published in 1727 a ‘ Defence of the English Ordinations,’ to the great vexation of Cardinal

de Noailles. The French King and Cardinal Fleury sent him a message on the subject, by the Lieutenant of Police; but after an hour's conversation, as he himself states in a letter, he satisfied that officer, that he had done nothing but what became him; owned his friendship for Courayer, pointed to his picture hanging up in the room, and acknowledged that 'he had paid him a visit in his retreat at Hanment, and had received from him a farewell call in return the night before he left Paris.' The Lieutenant promised, he adds, to 'justify him both to the court and the city;' but the Cardinal, convinced that the exiled Prelate had been deeply engaged in the escape, displayed much resentment toward him on that account.

A short time before his decease, alarmed lest his papers should fall into the hands of government and thus endanger his correspondents, he destroyed several of the most important ones, and ineffectually solicited Lord Waldegrave, the English Ambassador, to affix his seal to the remainder. To the French government he, also, made a similar application; but some difficulties arising, he withdrew it. After his death John Samples, a ministerial spy, who had wormed himself into the Bishop's intimacy, endeavoured to obtain possession of them for the ostensible purpose of transmitting them to the Pretender: but the friends of the deceased interposed; the papers were sent to the Scots College, and the seal of office affixed. His son-in-law and executor, however, was permitted to select such as related to family-affairs.\*

\* These, which were seized upon that gentleman's return to

He died at Paris, February 15, 1731-2; and his body was privately interred with some difficulty in Westminster Abbey, on the twelfth of May following.\* He left one son,† Osborne Atterbury, who

England, contain part of the correspondence between himself and his father-in-law, several miscellaneous articles in Atterbury's hand-writing, and some letters from William Shippen relative to the character of Hampden in Clarendon's History, which Oldmixon alleged 'the Bishop in conjunction with Smalridge and Aldrich had interpolated.' To this accusation Atterbury published a very satisfactory reply.

\* On it's way, the hearse was stopped by the Custom House officers, on suspicion that some brocades and other prohibited goods were concealed in the coffin. This occasioned a great outcry against the ministry, as if 'their vengeance continued to pursue him even after his death.' The Rev. Dr. Henry Atterbury, his respectable elder brother, died a few months before him.

† Of this son, who was a student of Christ Church, and after spending the interval between 1725 and 1731 in the East Indies, returned to enjoy his uncle Dr. Lewis Atterbury's fortune, the Bishop in his will (dated Dec. 31, 1725) took no notice whatever. The following letter, addressed to him while at college, is worth preserving:

'DEAR OBBY,

'I thank you for your letter, because there are manifest signs in it of your endeavouring to excel yourself, and by consequence to please me. You have succeeded in both respects; and will always succeed, if you think it worth your while to consider what you write, and to whom; and let nothing, though of a trifling nature, pass through your pen negligently. Get but the way of writing correctly and justly; time and use will teach you to write readily afterward. Not but that too much care might give a stiffness to your stile, which ought, in all letters, by all means to be avoided. The turn of them should be natural and easy; for they are an image of private and familiar conversation. I mention this with respect to the four or five first lines of yours, which have an air of poetry, and do therefore naturally resolve themselves into blank verses. I send you your letter again, that

was ordained in 1742 by Bishop Hoadly, and in 1746 obtained the living of Oxhill, Warwickshire.

Dr. Atterbury was a man of considerable learning,\* an elegant writer, an able speaker in parliament, and

you yourself may now make the same observation. But you took the hint of that thought from a poem; and it is no wonder, therefore, that you heightened the phrase a little, when you were expressing it. The rest is as it should be; and particularly, there is an air of duty and sincerity, that if it comes from your heart, is the most acceptable present you can make me. With these good qualities, an incorrect letter would please me; and, without them, the finest thoughts and language would make no lasting impression upon me. The great Being says, you know, "My son, give me thy heart;" implying that, without it, all other gifts signify nothing. Let me conjure you, therefore, never to say any thing, either in a letter, or common conversation, that you do not think; but always to let your mind and your words go together, on the most trivial occasions. Shelter not the least degree of insincerity under the notion of a compliment; which, as far as it deserves to be practised by a man of probity, is only the most civil and obliging way of saying what you really mean: and whoever employs it otherwise, throws away truth for breeding. I need not tell you, how little his character gets by such an exchange.

'I say not this, as if I suspected that in any part of your letter you intended to write what was proper, without any regard to what was true; for I am resolved to believe that you were in earnest, from the beginning to the end of it, as much as I am when I tell you, that I am

' Your loving Father, &c.'

\* His learned friend Smalridge, in presenting him as Prolocutor to the Upper House of Convocation, stiled him '*Vir in nullo literarum genere hospes, in plerisque artibus et studiis diu et feliciter exercitatus, in maximè perfectis literarum disciplinis perfectissimus.*' In his controversial writings, indeed, it must be admitted, he handled too freely the weapons of satire and invective; more perhaps, however, from the natural fervor of his wit, than from any rancor of disposition. He appears, also,



an excellent preacher. But, with all these accomplishments, he had other qualities of a less commendable nature. He was of that restless and ambitious disposition, which characterised the Becketts and the Lauds of preceding times, and was ill disguised by the affected mildness and moderation of his epistolary writings. No friend to liberty, either civil or religious,\* he carried ecclesiastical claims to an extreme and absurd height. From his own writings it is manifest that he would have persecuted, if he had been possessed of power, and that he was an enemy to the freedom of the press.

He was, on the whole, a man rather of talent than of genius. He writes more with elegance and

if we may trust the subjoined anecdote, not to have been wholly free from superstition: A story of a prediction by one Needs, which announced that 'three persons (one of them Dr. Mews, Bishop of Winchester) should die in a certain order, within half a year,' was circulated in that city about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Of their prophecy, Atterbury, no over-credulous man, having had a full account from persons (as he conceived) of credit, and of it's having been fulfilled so particularly as to the other two individuals, including the prophet himself, sent a detailed statement of the whole to his great friend, Sir Jonathan Trelawny, who he knew had views toward Winchester, to incite him to strengthen his interests that way as much and as fast as he possibly could! He did so, and got the bishopric in 1707. (*Censura Literaria*, V. 98.)

\* He carried the acrimony of party so far, as even to suspend for three years, Mr. Gibbin, Curate of Gravesend, a very worthy clergyman, for having indulged the use of his church to the Chaplain of the Dutch Troops, which were called over to suppress the rebellion! The inhabitants of Gravesend, however, subscribed for their minister a sum more than double the income of his church; and his Majesty, subsequently, bestowed upon him the rectory of Northfleet in Kent. This learned man, who pvelled with Addison, died in 1752.

correctness, than with force of thinking or reasoning. His letters to Pope, though too much crowded with trite quotations from the classics, are admirable specimens of elegant familiarity, and by many are preferred to the more elaborate compositions of his illustrious correspondent. It is said, he either translated or intended to translate the *Georgics* of Virgil, and to write the *Life* of Cardinal Wolsey, whom he much resembled. Dr. Warburton had a mean opinion of his critical abilities, and of his ‘*Discourse on the lapsis of Virgil.*’\* He was thought to be the author of the ‘*Life of Waller,*’ prefixed to the first octavo edition of that poet’s works. His turbulent and imperious temper was long felt and remembered in the College, over which he presided.

His person, according to another writer, was well made: he had a gracefulness in his behaviour, and a kind of majestic gravity in his looks, that bespoke him reverence wherever he came. His voice was not strong; but there was something so sweet in his pronunciation, and so insinuating in his address, as gained him the possession of an audience whenever he began to speak. Beside this, he had a quick penetration, an exquisite understanding, an easy comprehension, a sprightly fancy and imagination, and solid judgement and good sense, all united together.

\* Under this name he attempted to prove, that Virgil meant to characterise his friend Antonius Musa, the learned and accomplished physician of Augustus, to whom many also refer his *Catalecton XIII.*, though Heyne would ascribe the latter to a learned rhetorician of that name. The same able critic, likewise (in his *Excurs. IV. on Æn. XII. 391.*) concurs in Warburton’s reprobation of Atterbury’s theory.

“ The Dean of Carlisle has so much regard to his congregation,” observes Steele,\* “ that he commits to his memory what he has to say to them ; and has so soft and graceful a behaviour, that it must attract your attention. His person, it is to be confessed, is no small recommendation : but he is to be highly commended for not losing that advantage, and adding to a propriety of speech, which might pass the criticism of Longinus, an action which would have been approved by Demosthenes. He has a peculiar force in his way, and has many of his audience,† who could not be intelligent hearers of his discourse, were there not explanation as well as grace in his action. This art of his is used with the most exact and honest skill : he never attempts your passions, until he has convinced your reason. All the objections, which he can form, are laid open and dispersed, before he uses the least vehemence in his sermon : but when he thinks he has your head, he very soon wins your heart ; and never pretends to show the beauty of holiness, until he hath convinced you of the truth of it.”

It should be recorded to his honour that he remained at all times true to the Protestant Religion, and regular in the performance of it's offices. He warmly reprobated the conduct of the Duke of Whartor Lords North and Grey, and others, who with a view of obtaining the Pretender's favour had apostatised from their faith : and he even quarrelled with the Duke of Berwick, who proposed giving to the young Duke of Buckingham a Catholic preceptor.‡

\* Tatler, N<sup>o</sup>. 66.

† At the chapel of Bridewell Hospital.

‡ From an anecdote however related, upon Pope's authority,

His Sermons were printed in four volumes, 8vo.; the two first by himself in 1726, dedicated to his patron Trelawny, and the two latter after his death, by his Chaplain Dr. Thomas Moore.

by Lord Chesterfield to Maty, it appears that Atterbury was long a sceptic as to the grounds of that religion, for the established forms of which he was so zealous: though (if this statement, indeed, be true) he fortunately lived to discern his error, and from his religious convictions in the close of his life derived the chief consolation of his adversity.

But, if we may believe the joint evidence of his actions and his writings, we should receive the story with distrust. - His 'Sermons on the Miraculous Propagation of the Gospel' and on a standing Revelation's being the best means of conviction, bear important testimony to his faith: and the contempt with which he generally treats unbelievers as an ignorant, superficial, or conceited class, is a tolerably good proof that he was not one himself. A man may conceal, or deny, or even prosecute his own opinions; but he will not appear to despise those, who hold them.

## DR. SAMUEL CLARKE.

[1675—1729.]

**DR. SAMUEL CLARKE** was born at Norwich October 11, 1675, and educated in the Free School of that place, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Burton. He was the son of Alderman Clarke, who had represented Norwich in parliament for several years; a gentleman of an excellent natural capacity, and of untainted reputation.

In 1691, Mr. Clarke placed his son at Caius College, Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. (afterward Sir John) Ellis. Here his talents quickly displayed themselves: and such was his industry, that he became a model of excellence to the whole University.\* When he was little more than twenty one, he greatly contributed, both by his example and by his translation of Rohault's Physics with Notes,† to the establishment of the Newtonian philosophy!

\* He was characterised, indeed, among the rest of the students, by the title of 'the Lad of Caius.'

† Rohault had written as a follower of Descartes: but, as Newton's system was then little received or understood, Mr. Clarke thought that an indirect vehicle would best convey his illustrations of it; and accordingly his version, published in 1697, became a general text-book for a considerable period, and gradually familiarised students with the language and rea-

Upon his arrival at Cambridge, the system of Descartes was the established theory, and Mr. Ellis was a zealot in it's defence; though, as Bishop Hoadly justly observes, it was only the invention of an ingenious and luxuriant fancy; having no foundation in the reality of things, nor any correspondence to the certainty of facts. Newton had, indeed, then published his '*Principia*;' but this book spoke to the intelligent alone, and required commentators for the many; as both it's matter and it's manner placed it beyond the general reach, and a strong prejudice in favour of received notions contributed to obstruct it's reception. But neither the difficulty of the task, nor the respect which he paid to the director of his studies, nor the opposition of those by whom he was surrounded, had any influence upon the mind of Clarke.

Dissatisfied with arbitrary hypotheses, he speedily made himself master of the chief parts of the '*New Philosophy*.' From this he took the subject of the public exercise, which he performed in the Schools to obtain his first degree; and he surprised his audience by the depth of knowledge and the clearness of expression, which pervaded the whole disputation.

In 1697, he accidentally at a coffee-house in Norwich became acquainted with Mr. Whiston, who discovering from his conversation that he was a young man of extraordinary genius, and had made great progress in the Newtonian doctrines, commenced an intimacy with him. Mr. Clarke had recently taken orders;

sonings of the '*Principia*.' It was, subsequently, translated into English by Dean Clarke, his brother.

and Whiston at that time was Chaplain to Dr. More, Bishop of Norwich, who delighted in patronising men of abilities. That Prelate, on receiving an account of the interview, desired Alderman Clarke and his son to dine with him; and the very next year, on Whiston's promotion to the living of Lowestoffe in Suffolk, appointed Mr. Clarke to succeed him as his Domestic Chaplain. In this situation, he found sufficient leisure to pursue his favourite study, divinity.

In 1699, he published three practical Essays upon Baptism, Confirmation, and Repentance; and an anonymous piece, entitled 'Reflexions on Part of a Book called 'Amyntor.''\* These compositions are men-

\* The propositions maintained in this work, written by Toland, which Dr. Clarke thought most deserving of consideration, are the three following:

1. 'That the books ascribed to the disciples and companions of the Apostles, which are still extant, and at this time thought genuine and of great authority (such as the 'Epistle of Clemens to the Corinthians,' the 'Epistles of Ignatius,' the 'Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians,' the 'Pastor of Hermas,' the 'Epistle of Barnabas,' &c.) are all, without difficulty, proved to be spurious:'

2. 'That it is easy to show the ignorance and superstition of the writers of these books;' and,

3. 'That they, who think these books genuine, ought to receive them into the Canon of Scripture, as their reputed authors were not less companions and fellow-labourers of the Apostles, than St. Mark and St. Luke.

In opposition to these assertions, Dr. Clarke maintained the three following propositions:

1. 'That, though we are not infallibly certain of the genuineness of the 'Epistles of Clemens, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Barnabas,' with the 'Pastor of Hermas,' they are generally, and upon great authority, believed to be genuine;'

2. 'That therefore, though they are not received as of the same authority with the canonical books of the New Testament,

tioned by Dr. Hoadly, Bishop of Winchester, not as equal to the author's other performances, but as displaying at once marks of a Christian frame of mind, and a surprising familiarity with the writings of the early Christians.

In 1701, Clarke published his 'Paraphrase on the Gospel of St. Matthew,' which was speedily followed by those on the other Evangelists; a work, deservedly held in the highest esteem. His original design was, to have gone through the whole of the New Testament in the same manner, giving a simple representation of it's contents without entering into abstruse critical commentaries. He had actually begun, we are told, a 'Paraphrase upon the Acts of the Apostles,' when something accidental interrupted the execution; and it is now only to be lamented, that he did not afterward resume and complete his labours.

About the year 1702, the Bishop collated him to the Rectory of Drayton near Norwich, and procured for him a parish in that city; and these he served in person, whenever the Bishop was in residence at the palace. His preaching was at first without notes, and so continued, till he became Rector of St. James'.

In 1704, he was appointed to preach Mr. Boyle's Lecture. Upon this occasion, he chose for his subject 'The Being and Attributes of God;' and succeeded so well, that he was re-appointed the follow-

they ought to have a proportional veneration, with respect both to the authors and to the writings themselves;' and,

3. 'That neither the belief of their being genuine, nor the respect paid to them as such, in the least derogates from the authority of the New Testament, or tend to render the number of the canonical books uncertain or precarious.'



ing year; when he delivered a series of Discourses upon 'The Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion.'\*

\* They were subsequently combined, under the general title of, 'A Discourse concerning the Being and Attributes of God, the Obligations of Natural Religion, and the Truth and Certainty of the Christian Revelation; in Answer to Mr. Hobbes, Spinoza, the Author of 'The Oracles of Reason,' and other Deniers of Natural and Revealed Religion; being sixteen Sermons, preached in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, in the Years 1704 and 1705, at the Lecture founded by Robert Boyle, Esq.'

They were originally published in two distinct volumes; the first in 1705, and the second in 1706. To the fourth and fifth editions were added several Letters to Dr. Clarke from a gentleman in Gloucestershire (Dr. Joseph Butler, afterward Bishop of Bristol) relating to the Demonstration, &c. with the Author's answers. The sixth and seventh were, farther, enriched with 'A Discourse concerning the Connexion of the Prophecies in the Old Testament, and the Application of them to Christ; and, 'An Answer to a seventh Letter concerning the Argument *à priori*:' Mr. Clarke having endeavoured to show, that the Being of a God may be demonstrated by arguments of this denomination.

The reputation of his work, however, could not be diminished by any thing that came from the pens of his antagonists. How far it merited the approbation of the pious and the learned, may be collected from the following character given of it by Bishop Hoadly:

"He has laid the foundations of true religion too deep and strong to be shaken either by the superstition of some, or the infidelity of others. He chose particularly to consider the arguments of Spinoza and Hobbes, the most plausible patrons of the system of Fate and Necessity; a system which, by destroying all true freedom of action in any intelligent being, at the same time destroys all that can be stiled 'virtue' or 'praise-worthy.' This being a subject, into which all the subtilties and quirks of metaphysics had entered and thrown their usual obscurity and intricacy, the difficulty lay in clearing away this rubbish of confusion; in introducing a language, that could be understood; in clothing the clearest ideas in this plain and manly language;

These Discourses raised his character extremely high as a close and acute reasoner; though his metaphysical arguments *à priori* for the existence of a Deity (as it has been observed) were by many deemed, from their subtilty, less satisfactory than the common mode of deducing a First Cause from the effects visible in creation. But Clarke himself does not deny, that the argument *à posteriori* is far more generally useful; and he has employed the opposite one only against such *soi-disant* reasoners, as could not be refuted any other way. Pope \* darted at him some bitter lines, in his Dunciad, concluding with

— ‘ We nobly take the high *priori* road,  
And reason downward till we doubt of God.’

But it is not by a splenetic distich or two, that the reputation of a man like Dr. Clarke can be injured. Nor does the value of his Demonstration seem to have been impaired in the public opinion by the more formidable discussion, which it underwent in polemical controversy. His ‘ eternal differences, relations, and fitnesses of things,’ indeed, partly gave way to the

and in concluding nothing, but from such evidence as amounts to demonstrative. He began with self-evident propositions, from them advanced to such as received their proof from the former, and in these took no step, till he had secured the way before him. Throughout the whole, no word is used but what is intelligible to all who are at all versed in such subjects, and what expresses the clear idea in the mind of him who makes use of it. All is one regular building, erected upon an immoveable foundation, and rising up from one stage to another with equal strength and dignity.”

\* The poet’s resentment is supposed to have originated from Clarke’s refusing to intercede for Lord Bolingbroke’s return to England with an unqualified and unconditional pardon.

‘innate beauty of virtue,’ introduced by Lord Shaftesbury and improved by Professor Hutcheson ! But it still continued to retain very able supporters.

In 1706, his patron, Bishop More, procured for him the rectory of St. Benet, Paul’s Wharf, in London. The same year, he published his ‘Letter to Mr. Dodwell,’ in answer to that author’s Epistolary Discourse, proving from Scriptures and the First Fathers, that ‘the Soul is a Principle naturally mortal, but immortalised actually by the Pleasure of God, to Punishment or to Reward, by it’s Union with the Divine Baptismal Spirit : wherein is proved, that none have the Power of giving this divine immortalising Spirit since the Apostles, but only the Bishops.’

The mischievous tendency of this doctrine, supported by the name of it’s author, made it necessary that an answer should be furnished to what from another hand might, perhaps, have been received as a banter upon both Natural and Revealed Religion : Mr. Clarke was thought the most proper person for this work. And he did it (says the Bishop of Winchester) in so excellent a manner, both with regard to the philosophical part, and to the opinions of some of the primitive writers upon whom this doctrine was fixed, that it gave universal satisfaction. But the controversy did not stop here. For Mr. Antony Collins, coming in as a second to Dodwell, went much farther into the philosophy of the dispute, and indeed appeared to produce all that could plausibly be advanced against the immateriality of the soul, as well as the liberty of human actions. This opened a large field of conflict, into which Mr. Clarke entered, and wrote with such force and perspicuity, as showed

him greatly superior to his adversaries both in metaphysical and in natural knowledge.

Four defences of Dodwell speedily followed his first publication, containing ‘Remarks on a (pretended) Demonstration of the Immateriality and Natural Immortality of the Soul,’ in Clarke’s reply.

In the midst of his other labours, however, he found time to evince his regard for mathematical and physical inquiries. His progress in these studies, and his affection for them, were not a little improved by the particular friendship of Newton; at whose request, Hoadly informs us, he translated the ‘Treatise on Optics’ into Latin for the benefit of continental scholars. And here it may be proper to add that, after the death of Sir Isaac, Dr. Clarke vindicated his doctrine concerning the ‘proportion of the velocity and force of bodies in motion’ against several objectors, in a plain and masterly letter. Nor must it be forgotten, that Newton, in return for his version of the ‘Optics,’ presented him with the sum of a hundred pounds for each of his five children.

He was now brought by his patron\* to court, and recommended to the favour of Queen Anne, who appointed him one of her Chaplains in Ordinary; and soon afterward, at the Bishop’s request, presented him in 1709 to the rectory of St. James’, Westminster. From this period, he discontinued his former mode of preaching without notes, and composed his sermons with great exactness.

He now resided constantly in the rectory-house,

\* The familiarity and intimacy of their intercourse, equally honourable to both parties, went so far that the Bishop, at his death, entrusted all his domestic concerns to Dr. Clarke’s hands.

and beside the regular performance of his other duties, adopted the custom of his predecessors, in reading lectures upon the Church-Catechism every Thursday morning, for some months in each year.

Upon taking his degree of D.D. at Cambridge, on this occasion, he distinguished himself greatly by his public exercise. The questions, on which he disputed, were: 1. *Nullum Fidei Christianæ Dogma, in S. Scripturis traditum, est rectæ Rationi dissentaneum*; and 2. *Sine Actionum humanarum Libertate nulla potest esse Religio*.\* His Thesis was an elaborate discourse upon the first of these subjects. Dr. James, at that time Regius Professor of Divinity, a learned and acute disputant, exerted himself more than usual during the contest; and, after having strictly sifted every part of the composition, pressed him with the utmost force of syllogism in all it's various forms. To the former Clarke made an extempore answer, in a continued Latin discourse, for nearly half an hour; in which he confuted what the Professor had advanced, with such strength and fluency, as to compel many of his auditors to confess that, 'if they had not been within sight of him, they should have supposed he had read his reply out of a long meditated and well-digested paper.'

After th's, in the course of the disputation, he guarded so well against his adversary's subtilities, encountered so readily his objections, and pressed him so closely with his rejoinders, that perhaps never was any conflict kept up with equal spirit, or terminated with equal honour to the respondent. The Professor, a man of humour as well as of learning, at the end of

\* "No Article of Christian Faith, delivered in the Holy Scriptures, is contrary to right Reason."—"Without the Freedom of Human Actions there can be no Religion."

the disputation complimented him with "*Probè me exercuisti*:" and the learned hearers departed full of admiration, that after an absence of so many years, and a long course of other occupations, he had conducted himself, with regard both to force of argument and purity of expression, as if this species of academical exercise had been his constant employment. Mr. Whiston informs us, in the words of an unknown admirer of Dr. Clarke, who was present at this celebrated Act, that "every creature was rapt up into silence and astonishment, and thought the performance truly admirable."\*

In 1710, he published, in folio, a beautiful edition of Cæsar's Commentaries, dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough.† In the printing of it, he took particular care of the punctuation, or proper distribution of each sentence into it's constituent members; an exactness too much neglected by learned men, though absolutely necessary for preserving the perspicuity, and even the beauty of language. In the Annotations, he selected what appeared the most judicious from other editors, interspersing occasionally corrections and emendations of his own.‡

\* The same year, he revised and corrected Whiston's translation of the 'Apostolical Constitutions,' at the writer's particular request.

† In this compliment, from the military character of the work, though the illustrious Dedicatee could not read a syllable of it, there was some propriety. But where was the suitableness in inscribing with the same great name a book, whose lyre pertinaciously refused to hymn the 'Atridæ,' and 'the labours of Hercules?' Yet Barnes dedicated to Marlborough his 'Anacreon.'

‡ This publication Mr. Addison panegyrises in the following terms:

"The new edition, which is given us of Cæsar's Comment-

Soon afterward, he was involved in a warm controversy, occasioned by the publication of his ‘Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity,’ in 1712, against which complaint was made by the Lower House of Convocation in 1714; but the affair terminated, on the members of the Upper House declaring themselves satisfied with the explanations offered by the author.\*

This work is divided into three parts: 1. A Collection and Explication of all the Texts in the New Testament, relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity; 2. An Explanation of the foregoing Doctrine in particular and distinct propositions; and 3. A consideration of the principal Passages in the Liturgy of the Church of England relating to it.

“He knew (remarks Bishop Hoadly) and all men agreed, that it was a matter of mere revelation: he

aries, has already been taken notice of in foreign gazettes, and is a work that does honour to the English press. It is no wonder that an edition should be very correct, which has passed through the hands of one of the most accurate, learned, and judicious writers this age has produced. The beauty of the paper, of the character, and of the several cuts with which this noble work is illustrated, makes it the finest book that I have ever seen; and is a true instance of the English genius, which though it does not come the first into any art, generally carries it to greater heights than any other country in the world.” (*Spectator*, No. 367.)

\* The most authentic account of this business we have in a piece entitled, ‘An Apology for Dr. Clarke; containing an Account of the late Proceedings in Convocation upon his Writings concerning the Trinity. London, 1714, 8vo.’ With this sacrifice to human prudence, which some have (perhaps, too strongly) represented as a retraction, Whiston’s unaccommodating zeal was highly offended; and Dr. Clarke himself, there is reason to believe, was not perfectly satisfied with his own conduct upon the occasion.

did not, therefore, retire into his closet, and set himself to invent and form a plausible hypothesis, which might sit easily upon his mind; he had not recourse to abstract and metaphysical reasonings, to cover or patronise any system he might have embraced before, but as a Christian he laid open the New Testament before him. He searched out every text, in which mention was made of the three Persons, or of any one of them. He accurately examined the meaning of the words used about every one of them; and by the best rules of grammar and critique, and by his skill in language, he endeavoured to fix plainly what was declared about every person, and what was not.

“ I am far from taking upon me (he adds) to determine, in so difficult a question, between Dr. Clarke and those who made replies to him. The debate soon grew very warm, and in a little time seemed to rest principally upon him and one particular adversary,\* very skilful in the management of a debate, and very learned and well versed in the writings of the ancient Fathers.’

✱ This I hope I may be allowed to say, that every Christian divine and layman ought to pay his thanks to Dr. Clarke for the method, into which he brought this dispute; and for that collection of the texts of the New Testament, by which at last it must be decided, on which side soever the truth may be supposed to lie.

“ And let me add this one word more, that since men of such thought and such learning have shown the world, in their own example, how widely the most honest inquirers after truth may differ upon such subjects, this methinks should a little abate our

\* Dr. Waterland, Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge.



mutual censures, and a little take off from our positiveness about the necessity of explaining, in this or that one determinate sense, the ancient passages relating to points of so sublime a nature."

Some time before the appearance of the volume, he was informed by Lord Godolphin and other members of the ministry, that the affairs of the public were with difficulty retained in the hands of those who were friendly to liberty; and that, therefore, it was an unseasonable time for such a publication. To this message he paid no regard, but proceeded according to the dictates of his conscience.\*

In 1715 and 1716, he entered into a dispute with the celebrated Leibnitz relating to the principles of Natural Philosophy and Religion; and a Collection of the papers, which passed between them, was published in 1717. To this are added, 'Letters to Dr. Clarke concerning Liberty and Necessity, from a Gentleman (Richard Bulkeley, Esq.)† of the University of Cambridge, with the Doctor's Answers to them; also Remarks upon a Book, entitled, 'A Philosophical Inquiry concerning Human Liberty by Antony Collins, Esq.' The volume was inscribed to Queen Caroline, then Princess of Wales,† who

\* A great number of books and pamphlets presently came out upon the subject, of which the names may be found in a pamphlet entitled, 'An Account of all the considerable Books and Pamphlets that have been written on either Side in the Controversy concerning the Trinity since the Year 1712; in which is, also, contained an Account of the Pamphlets written this last Year on either Side by the Dissenters to the end of the Year 1719.' London, 1720, 8vo.

† Author of a Poem, entitled 'The Last Day.' He died in 1718, aged twenty four.

\* Dr. Clarke was a great favourite with her Royal Highness, and the placing of his bust in her hermitage gave rise to a

was pleased to 'have the whole controversy pass through her hands, and was the witness and judge of every step of it.' Dr Clarke, indeed, frequently declared, that 'she displayed great sagacity and judgement in several parts of the debate.'

In the course of it, as Whiston observes, "Leibnitz was pressed so hard by his opponent, from matter of fact, known laws of motion, and the discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton, who heartily assisted the Doctor, that he was forced to have recourse to metaphysical subtilties, and to a pre-established harmony of things in his own imagination (which he stiles, a 'superior reason') till it was soon seen that his 'superior reason' served to little else, but to confirm the great superiority of experience and mathematics above all such metaphysical subtilties whatsoever. And I confess," he adds, "I look upon these letters of Dr. Clarke, as among the most useful of his performances in Natural Philosophy."\*

In 1718, a dispute arose concerning the Primitive Doxologies, in consequence of an alteration made by Dr. Clarke in those of certain 'Select Hymns and Psalms, reprinted that Year for the Use of St. James' Parish.' The new readings were :

To God, through Christ, his only Son,  
Immortal Glory be, &c.

And,

To God, through Christ, his Son, our Lord,  
All Glory be therefore, &c.

A considerable number of these little books having sarcasm of Pope's, as if 'the situation were not quite suitable to a court-divine.'

\* Newton once pleasantly told Clarke, that 'he had broken Leibnitz' heart with his reply to him.'

been dispersed by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, before the alterations were noticed, Dr. Clarke was charged with a design of imposing upon the Society; whereas, in truth, the edition had been prepared by him exclusively for the use of his own parish. The Bishop of London, however, thought proper to publish ‘A Letter to the Incumbents of all Churches and Chapels in his Diocese, concerning their not using any new Forms of Doxology.’\* This letter was animadverted upon, in the following year by Mr. Whiston, in an ironical ‘Letter of Thanks to his Lordship;’ and in a pamphlet, entitled, ‘An humble Apology for St. Paul, and the other Apostles; or, a Vindication of them and their Doxologies from the Charge of Heresy,’ by Cornelius Paets.†

About this time he was presented by Mr. Lechmere, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, to the Mastership of Wigstan Hospital in Leicester; a preferment, not requiring subscription.

In 1724, he published *Seventeen Sermons*

The Right Reverend author particularly speaks of ~~the~~ persons, seduced by the strong delusions of pride and ceit,” &c. &c.

† Soon afterward came out a second piece of irony, entitled ‘A Defence of the Bishop of London, in Answer to Mr. Whiston’s Letter of Thanks; addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. To which is added, A Vindication of Dr. Sacheverell’s late Endeavour to turn Mr. Whiston out of his Church.’ The same Letter of Thanks occasioned, likewise, the two following pieces; ‘The Lord Bishop of London’s Letter to his Clergy vindicated, &c. By a Believer;’ and, ‘A Seasonable Review of Mr. Whiston’s Account of Primitive Doxologies, &c. By a Presbyter of the Diocese of London’ (supposed to be Dr. William Berriman.) To the latter Mr. Whiston replied in a ‘Second Letter to the Bishop of London, &c.’ dated March 11, 1719; and was answered by ‘A Second Review, &c.’

several occasions, eleven of which had never before been printed: and in 1727, upon the death of Sir Isaac Newton, he declined the offer of the Mastership of the Mint.\* To this refusal he was particularly pressed both by Mr. Emlyn and Mr. Whiston, as ‘being what he did not want, entirely remote from the concerns of his profession, and likely materially to obstruct the success of his ministry;’ to which the latter added, as his principal reason, that ‘such conduct would show him to be in earnest in religion.’ And it is recorded to the honour of Mrs. Clarke, that without urging the advantages which this appointment would have produced to her family, she left her husband at full liberty to act as his conscience and inclination should direct him.†

In 1728 appeared, ‘A Letter from Dr. Clarke to Mr Benjamin Hoadly, concerning the Proportion of Velocity and Force in Bodies in Motion.‡

In the beginning of 1729, he published in quarto, the twelve first books of Homer’s Iliad, dedicated to the Duke of Cumberland. Homer, we are informed by the Bishop of Winchester, was “Dr. Clarke’s admired author, even to a degree of something like enthusiasm hardly natural to his temper; and that in this he went a little beyond the bounds of Horace’s judgement, and was so unwilling to

\* This was made, in order to secure to his merit that pecuniary reward, which his scruples about subscription and his theological deviations had rendered no longer practicable through the channel of professional advancement.

† Mr. Whiston, in his particular mention of this affair, states that Mr. Conduit, who succeeded to the office, purchased with 1000*l.* a place among the King’s Writers for one of Dr. Clarke’s sons.

‡ It is printed in the Philosophical Transactions.

allow his favourite ever to 'nod,' that he has taken remarkable pains to find out and give a reason for every passage, word, and tittle, that could create any suspicion. 'The translation,' adds his Lordship, "with his corrections, may now be stiled accurate; and his notes, as far as they go, are indeed a treasury of grammatical and critical knowledge."\*

On the eleventh of May in this year he was taken suddenly ill, and died on the seventeenth. He had gone out in the morning of the eleventh, to preach before the Judges at Serjeant's Inn; but being suddenly seized with a violent pain in his side, which incapacitated him for the pulpit, he was obliged to be carried home. In the afternoon, however, he thought himself so much better, that he would not suffer himself to be blooded; against which process he entertained strong prejudices. The pain, however, re- turning about two the next morning, an able sician was called in; who after twice bleeding, and other applications, thought him out of till the Saturday morning following: when surprise and grief of all about him, the pain re- from his side to his head, and after a short con- lair took away his senses. Between seven and eight in the evening of that day he expired, aged only fifty-four.

He married Katharine, the only daughter of the

\* The twelve last books of the Iliad were published in 1732, by his son, Mr. Samuel Clarke; who states, in the preface, that 'his father had finished the annotations to the first three of those books, and as far as the 359th verse of the fourth; and had revised the text and version as far as verse 510 of the same book.' Upon this performance his fame, as a scholar, principally rests.

Rev. Mr. Lockwood, Rector of Little Massingham in Norfolk, by whom he had seven children: of those two died before, and one a few weeks after him.\*

Since his death have been published, from his original manuscripts, by his brother (Dr. John Clarke, Dean of Sarum)† ‘An Exposition on the Church Catechism;’ and ten volumes of Sermons. The Exposition contains the lectures which he read on the Thursday mornings, at St. James’ church, revised during the latter part of his life with great care, and left completely prepared for the press.

This performance was animadverted upon by Dr. Waterland, his old antagonist, who was answered by Dr. A. A. Sykes; and a series of replies and rejoinders kept the controversy afloat for a considerable time.

“Dr. Clarke (says Bishop Hoadly) was a person of a natural genius, excellent enough to have placed him in the superior rank of men without the acquirements of learning; and of learning enough, to have rendered a much less comprehensive genius very considerable in the ways of the world: but in him they were both united to such a degree, that those who were of his intimate acquaintance knew not which to admire most. The first strokes of knowledge, in some of it’s branches, seemed to be little less than natural to him: for they appeared to be right in his mind, as soon as any thing could appear; and to be

\* Queen Caroline allowed his widow a pension of one hundred guineas *per ann.*

† This gentleman, Chalmers says in a note, was at first apprentice to a weaver in Norwich; but was sent to the University by his brother, and through his interest obtained a stall in his native city, and the deanery abovementioned.

the very same, which afterward grew up with him to perfection, as the strength and cultivation of his mind increased. He had one happiness very rarely known among the greatest men, that his memory was almost equal to his judgement, which is as great a character as can well be given of it." After stating his proficiency in every branch of science and learning, he adds; "If in any one of these many branches he had excelled only as much as he did in all, this alone would justly have entitled him to the name of a 'great man.' But there is something so very extraordinary, that the same person should excel, not only in those parts of knowledge which require the strongest judgement, but in those which want the help of the strongest memory also; and it is so seldom seen that one, who is an eminent master in theology, is at the same time skilfully fond of all critical and classical learning, or excellent in the physical and mathematical studies, or well famed for metaphysical and abstract reasoning; that it ought to be remarked, in how particular a manner, and to how high a degree, divinity and mathematics, experimental philosophy and classical learning, metaphysics and critical skill, all of them various and different as they are among themselves, united in Dr. Clarke."\* He proceeds to record, now earnestly his friendship was courted

\* His character, however, is so much involved in controversy, that it is quite impossible to exhibit more than it's great outlines in these pages. A more minute view of it may be collected from the *Biographia Britannica*, which contains a professed defence of his principles and conduct, the *Lives of him* by Whiston and Hoadly, Whitaker's 'Origin of Arianism,' Warburton's 'Letters,' Nichols' 'Bowyer,' and the pamphlets occasionally adverted to above. See also Tytler's 'Memoirs of Lord Kames,' I. 26.

and cultivated by the greatest lovers of virtue and knowledge; and feelingly observes in conclusion, "As his works must last as long as any language remains to convey them to future times, perhaps I may flatter myself that this faint and imperfect account of him may be transmitted down with them. And I hope it will be thought a pardonable piece of ambition and self-interestedness, if being fearful lest every thing else should prove too weak to keep the remembrance of myself in being, I lay hold on his fame to prop and support my own. I am sure, as I have little reason to expect that any thing of mine, without such an assistance can live, I shall think myself greatly recompensed for the want of any other memorial, if my name may go down to posterity thus closely joined with his; and I myself be thought of, and spoken of, in ages to come under the character of 'The Friend of Dr. Clarke.'"

In domestic and private life, he was most tender and humane. When his young children amused themselves with tormenting flies, &c., he calmly joined with them in such a familiar manner, as calculated to make a very powerful impression upon their minds. In answering applications made to him with respect to scruples, of which, instances frequently occurred, he was always extremely prompt and condescending. It was one of his inviolable maxims, 'Never to lose a single minute of time.' He always carried a book with him, which he would read in his carriage, while walking in his fields, or at any vacant moment. Nay, he would occasionally open it even in company, whenever he felt that he could do so without offence to good manners. And yet, with all this value for time, we are told that



(as a supposed relaxation, perhaps, or from the infatuation of habit) he would spend whole hours in playing at cards!

“ Upright, mild, unaffected (says one of his biographers) and cheerful, even sometimes to playful simplicity, he seemed formed to have gone through the world without an enemy, had he not touched upon the ‘ debateable land’ of polemics. His intellectual character was that of pure reason, undisturbed by passion or enthusiasm, and closely pursuing its object with all the powers of methodical accuracy and logical acuteness. His memory was remarkably strong,\* and his attention indefatigable. If not one of the brightest geniuses, he is certainly one of the ablest men this island can boast.”

As a writer of sermons, he is chiefly characterised by solidity of reasoning and justness of observation, expressed in perspicuous and manly language; and therefore, with most of the eminent English divines, he takes his stand among the instructive and didactic preachers, rather than the orators.

\* He told Mr. Pyle, of Lynn, that ‘ he never forgot any thing, which he had once thoroughly apprehended and understood.’

## DR. RICHARD BENTLEY.\*

[1662—1742.]

**T**HIS most distinguished critic and divine was born January 27, 1661-2, at Oulton in the parish of Rothwell, in the West Riding of the county of York. His ancestors were formerly of some consideration, and had been possessed of a valuable estate at Hep-tonstall, a chapelry and manor (the latter now forming part of the very large Rufford property) in the parish of Halifax. His grandfather, James Bentley, ~~had~~ a command in the royal army during the civil wars; and being involved in the fate of his party, ~~beside~~ enduring the pillage of his house and the confiscation of his lands, was himself imprisoned in Pontefract Castle, in which place he died. His son Thomas, the father of Dr. Bentley, was a respectable blacksmith† at Oulton, where he married the

\* AUTHORITIES. *Biographia Britannica*; Classical Journal, X.; Stillingfleet's, Bp. Newton's, Cumberland's, and Whiston's *Lives*; Nichols' Edition of *Dr. King's Works*, and *Literary Anecdotes*, &c. &c.

† The writer of his Life in the old *Biographia Britannica* says, 'he was the son of a mean tradesman.' This Mr. Cumberland, his grandson, in a letter to the Bishop of Oxford, stiles "a misrepresentation, debasing his condition from that of a gentleman."

daughter of Richard Willis of the same hamlet, who had formerly been a Major in the service of Charles I. This lady, a woman of a very strong understanding, taught her son Richard the accidence; and by her father he was placed at the grammar-school at Wakefield, where his extraordinary talents quickly raised him above the level of his fellows. In 1676, he was admitted a sizar\* of St. John's College, Cambridge, at the very early age of fourteen years and four months. Having taken the degree of B. A. at the regular period, he in 1682 offered himself as a candidate for a fellowship, but was rejected in consequence of his county being full!† Soon afterward, he became an assistant at the free grammar-school at Spalding in Lincolnshire. That he did not, however, continue long in that situation, appears from his having accepted, in 1683, the appointment of private tutor to the Son of Dr. Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's, who in compliment to his sagacity gave him the option of taking his pupil to Cambridge or to Oxford. He preferred the latter, principally on account of the Bodleian library, the manuscripts of which he examined with the most minute attention; thus deeply laying the foundation of that fabric of classical character, which he was destined to carry so high. Being now of age, he sold to his elder brother a small property which he had derived from his family, and

\* For his own tutor, Mr. Johnston: a circumstance, which Dr. Powell (though the mode of admission is merely formal) records as somewhat remarkable; he himself, during a long course of tuition, never having put down his own name upon such an occasion, but always that of some other fellow.

† Or, as Chalmers less probably states, 'on account of his being too young for priest's orders.'

immediately expended the whole of it's produce in the purchase of books. Such even at this time was his turn for critical learning, that before he attained the age of twenty four, he had compiled and written with his own hand in quarto a volume of Hexapla; in the first column of which was every word of the Hebrew Bible alphabetically disposed, and in five other columns all the corresponding interpretations of those words in the Chaldee, Syriac, Latin (Vulgate), Septuagint, and Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Thus, with the exception of the Arabic, Persic, Ethiopic, and Samaritan, he must at that time have made himself master of the whole Polyglott! He had, also, at the same date filled another quarto with the various readings and emendations of the Hebrew text, deduced from those ancient versions!

In 1684, he took the degree of M. A.

In 1639, he was admitted *ad eundem* in the University of Oxford, and is mentioned by Antony Wood as 'a promising genius, to whom the world was likely to be greatly obliged for his literary productions.'

In 1691, he published his first work in a Latin Epistle to Dr. Mill, containing some critical observations upon the chronology of Johannes Malala.

In the following year, he was collated by Dr. Stillingfleet, to whom as Bishop of Worcester he had been appointed Domestic Chaplain,\* to a prebend

\* In this capacity, he so distinguished himself at his Lordship's table upon a learned subject casually started by one of the noble guests, that on his leaving the room the Peer observed to Dr. S., "You have a very great man for your Chaplain, my Lord." "Yes," replied the Prelate, "the greatest in Europe, had it pleased God to have given him the grace of humility."

in his cathedral. Soon afterward, he was recommended by his patron conjunctively with Dr. Lloyd Bishop of Lichfield, as a fit person to open the Lecture upon Mr. Boyle's foundation, in defence of Natural and Revealed Religion. The specific subject of his Discourses, eight in number, was the confutation of Atheism; and this he effected in so masterly a manner from a view of the faculties of the soul, of the structure and origin of human bodies, and the beginning and frame of the world itself, that his volume beside passing through numerous editions at home has been translated into several of the languages of the Continent.\*

His pride, indeed, is said to have been the reason, why he did not go beyond the first year in preaching the Boyle Lectures.

\* Whiston regards these Discourses, which demonstrated the Being and Providence of a God from Sir Isaac Newton's wonderful discoveries, as "perhaps the most valuable of all that great critic's performances:" but Bentley himself, as the same writer informs us, was afraid that he had by their very unanswerableness "done harm to Christianity; as occasioning those sceptics or infidels to divert from their denial of a God and a Providence, from which they might be always driven with great ease, to the picking up of objections against the Bible in general, which would certainly afford them a much larger field for contradictions."

Very soon after their delivery, upon consulting Bishop Lloyd on the subject of the Scripture Prophecies, he was so much annoyed to find that his Lordship understood a day to mean a year (which, however, the ancient language of prophecy plainly implies) that he bluntly asked Newton, to whom Whiston had introduced him, 'Whether he could demonstrate the correctness of the Canon?' The invidiousness of the allusion so offended the Philosopher, that he refused to see the captious questioner for a twelvemonth. Bentley even persuaded Daubuz, in the way of banter indeed, that 'he ought to prove his principle of interpretation *a priori*;' and for the sagacity

In 1693, upon the death of Mr. Justel, he was made Keeper of the Library at St. James'. Soon after his nomination, and before the signing of his patent, by his diligence he procured for it no fewer than a thousand volumes, under the Act of Parliament which prescribes that 'one copy of every book entered at Stationer's Hall shall be transmitted to the royal collection.'

In 1694, arose the celebrated dispute between him and the Hon. Charles Boyle,\* with respect to the

displayed in his preface to the 'Exposition of the Apocalypse,' held him subsequently in high esteem.

For a question upon the proportions of Nebuchadnezzar's Image of Gold in Dan. vi., which nearly lost him his mistress, "a most excellent Christian woman," and for some other petty exceptions to the chronology of that prophet, of whom (though expressly quoted by our Blessed Saviour himself, Matt. xxiv. 9, Mark. xiii. 14, Luke xxi. 20) "he was very desirous to get clear," as well as for his hostility to the Apocalypse, Mr. Whiston impeaches Dr. Bentley of Scepticism—"Scepticism, he says, not Infidelity: for I take the evidence for the truth of the Bible to be so prodigiously strong in all original authors, that no persons so learned as Dr. Bentley and Dr. Hare can, I believe, by any temptation proceed farther than scepticism; how much farther soever comparatively ignorant and unlearned writers—I mean, such as Collins, Tindal, Toland, Morgan, and Chubb—may have proceeded, in their grosser degrees of infidelity."

\* This young nobleman, born in 1676, was entered at the age of fifteen of Christ Church, Oxford. In 1703, by the death of his elder brother, he became Earl of Orrery: in 1710-11, at the negotiating of the peace of Utrecht, was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the States of Flanders and Brabant, and in September, 1711, created Baron Boyle of Marston, in Somersetshire. He continued to reside at Brussels, as Envoy, till June 1713; and in the commencement of the new reign was made a Lord of the Bedchamber, and Lord Lieutenant of the county of Somerset. The former post, however, he resigned in 1716, having previously been deprived of his regiment:

Epistles ascribed to Phalaris, Tyrant of Agrigentum. Of those Epistles Mr. Boyle had recently published an edition, with a Latin Version and Notes; and, in

and in 1722, on suspicion of being concerned in Layer's plot, he was committed to the Tower, where he suffered severely in his health. He died August 28, 1731, at the age of fifty five.

During his residence at Oxford, having already printed a translation of the 'Life of Lysander' from Plutarch, he was employed by Dean Aldrich, who had engaged several of the young students under his care to publish editions of the Classics, to give to the world the 'Epistles of Phalaris.' With a view to this, wishing to collate a MS. of this work in the King's library, he desired one Bennet, a London bookseller, to request the loan of it from Bentley. The MS., say the friends of Boyle, 'was not granted till after earnest solicitation and great delays:' and as, in the confidence of it's not being speedily reclaimed, it was not instantly put into the collator's hands, little advantage was derived from it; the librarian having within six days re-demanded it "in a very rude manner, and with very slighting and disparaging expressions both of Mr. Boyle and his work." Such is the story told by Mr. Bennet, Dr. William King, Mr. Boyle, &c. Dr. Bentley, on the other hand asserts, that 'the MS. was delivered to Mr. Boyle's agent within a month after it had fallen under his care as Library Keeper; that it was voluntarily offered, with a notice, that it must speedily be returned; that he never heard the collation was uncompleted, and indeed could scarcely have believed such a statement, as it might at any time have been made from beginning to end in four hours.' This, Boyle resented by the following sarcastic passage in his preface; *Collatas etiam (Epistolas) curavi usque ad Epist. XL. cum Manuscripto in Bibliotheca Regia, cujus mihi copiam ulterius Bibliothecarius pro singulari humanitate sua negavit*: and refusing, upon Dr. Bentley's civil expostulation and explanation (for 'to have insisted on the cancel,' he said, 'might have been forcing a gentleman to too low a submission') to erase the obnoxious sentence, drew down upon himself the tremendous hostility of his justly-incensed foe. The matter indeed, as that foe indignantly observes, being confounded with many flat contradictions, may properly be reduced to this short question, "*Utri creditis, Quirites—Dr. Bentley, or Mr. Bennet*"

the Preface, had resentfully commented upon what he thought ungenerous treatment and unjustifiable expressions on the part of Dr. Bentley. The latter in

—the scholar, or the bookseller? Yet Bennet had the honour of a funeral sermon from Atterbury.

Even of Boyle's 'Examination' it has been questioned, whether any considerable part proceeded from his own pen: many critics, both then and since, having concurred in ascribing it to Dean Aldrich, Dr. Atterbury in particular (who owns, in a letter, that he 'wrote about half and planned the whole') Dr. John Friend, Dr. Smalridge, and other wits of Christ Church, who heartily hated and wished to humble the redoubtable Bentley. Alsop, likewise, as appears from the preface to his *Fabularum Æsopicarum Delectus*, took part in the controversy, calling his adversary *Ricardum quendam Bentleium, virum involvendis Lexicis satis diligentem*. Pope told Warburton, that 'Boyle wrote only the narrative of what passed between him and the bookseller, which itself too underwent some correction; that Robert Friend, the master of Westminster, and Atterbury wrote the body of the criticisms; and that Dr. King, of the Commons, wrote the dull argument to prove Dr. Bentley not the author of the 'Dissertation on Phalaris,' and the Index, and a powerful cabal gave it a surprising run.' (*Warburton's Letters*.) The marriage of Bentley's son to a niece of Dr. Friend's softened the Cambridge Critic toward his Christ Church opponents; and he declared, that 'F. had more good learning in him than he had ever imagined.'

Dr. William King, who was accidentally present at a conversation between Bentley and Bennet, on being applied to by Boyle for the particulars, gave a short and expressive statement of them in a Letter, which procured for him an acrimonious castigation of eight pages; and the happy application of Horace's pun, in the *Proscripti Regis Rupili pus atque venenum*. In this severity, however, Dr. King was so far from acquiescing, that he soon afterward published his eleven 'Dialogues of the Dead;' presenting as many different views of the subject, and replete with that peculiar and admirable species of banter, which must have abundantly mortified his great adversary's vanity.



consequence, in a ‘Dissertation upon the Epistles of Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, Phalaris, and the Fables of Æsop,’ appended to the second edition of Wotton’s ‘Reflexions on Ancient and Modern Learning,’ in 1697,\* assigned strong reasons for disuputing the genuineness of the Letters in question. To these remarks the partisans of Boyle, sometimes denominated ‘the Bees of Christ Church,’ and by Rymer (in his ‘Essay concerning curious and critical learning’) called ‘a Select Club,’ published an elaborate, witty, and scurrilous reply. Several of the wits and critics of the age, including Swift, Pope,

\* Wotton, an English divine of uncommon learning, was born in 1666. His almost incredible talent for acquiring languages has been recorded by his father in a pamphlet, stating his proficiency in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues at six years of age! Under ten, he was admitted of Catharine Hall; and, at Eight and twenty, he published his ‘Reflexions upon Ancient and Modern Learning.’ In this surprising performance, in which he encounters Sir William Temple’s theory (that ‘the ancients possessed a greater force of genius than the moderns, and that all our knowledge is nothing more than scattered fragments saved out of the general shipwreck’) even Mr. Boyle allows that “he is modest and decent, and speaks generally with respect of those he differs from, and with a due distrust of his own opinions. His book has a vein of learning running through it, where there is no ostentation of it.” But Temple had incautiously asserted, that ‘the two oldest books he knew of in prose were Æsop’s Fables and Phalaris’ Epistles; and that the latter, by Bentley ascribed to ‘some dreaming pedant with his elbow on his desk,’ exhibited the statesman, the soldier, the wit, and the scholar.’ *Hinc illæ lacrymæ*. In 1707, Wotton took his Doctor’s degree. From difficulties in his private fortune, he retired into Wales in 1704; and acquired such skill in that language, as enabled him to undertake the publication of the ‘Laws of Hoel Dha,’ which however he did not live to finish. He died in 1726.

Garth,\* and Middleton, impelled by various causes chiefly of a vindictive nature, united themselves to

\* Garth's ill-natured couplet, in the 'Dispensary,' is

'So diamonds take a lustre from their foil,  
And to a Bentley 'tis, we owe a Boyle.'

In a similar spirit, the punsters even of his own University caricatured Bentley in the hands of Phalaris' attendants, exclaiming as they were thrusting him into the Bull, "I had rather be roasted than boiled (Boyled.)"

Pope was irritated by Bentley's telling him, on being pressed at Dr. Atterbury's for his opinion about the translation of Homer, then newly come out, that 'the verses were good verses, but the work was not Homer—it was Spondanus' (where some have proposed to read, Mme. Dacier). Hence 'the slashing Bentley' of the Dunciad,

The mighty Scholiast, whose unwearied pains  
Made Horace dull, and humbled Milton's strains!

Bentley's comment was—"I spoke against his Homer, and the portentous cub never forgives!" Alas! for the refinements of learning, and the perfection of humanity! *Tantæne animis celestibus iræ.*

Swift however, in his 'Battle of the Books,' though he ludicrously represents Wotton and Bentley standing side by side and transfixed together by one stroke of Boyle's javelin, as a "skilful cook with iron skewer pierces the tender sides of a brace of woodcocks, their legs and wings close pinioned to the ribs," countenances the idea of Boyle's obligations to his Oxford contemporaries, where he represents him as "clad in a suit of armour, which had been given him by all the gods." "Many, indeed (says Franklin, the translator of Phalaris' Epistles) who gave into this foolish opinion did at the same time allow, in justice to the late Lord Orrery, that if the weapons were put into his hands, he had at least the skill to manage them to the best advantage. To recompense any uneasiness, which might arise from reports of this kind, Mr. Boyle had the secret satisfaction of seeing his enemies, while they endeavoured to lessen his reputation, pay him the highest compliment by attributing his work to the literati of Christ Church; who, if they

Bentley's confederated foes; and every abuse, which ingenuity or malignity could suggest, was poured profusely upon the moral and literary character of the Cambridge critic. They even intrigued with their friends to procure 'a fling at Bentley;' nor did Keill himself, the youthful Professor of Astronomy, publish his grave work upon 'The Theory of the Earth,' without a sneer at the Doctor's boasted sagacity in conjectural criticism. Their triumphs, however, were to be transitory. Bentley undertook to examine the Epistles with still greater precision; and in a volume, little (if at all) inferior to that of his hydra-antagonist even in the humbler respects of sarcasm and sprightliness, gave to the world his unrivalled 'Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris.'

The facetious Examiner, he observes, seems resolved to vie with Phalaris himself in the science of Phalarism;\* for his revenge is not satisfied with one single death of his adversary, but he will kill me over and over again. He has slain me twice, by two several deaths; one in the first page of his book, and

had really been concerned in it any farther than casual hints of conversation on the subject, would I believe long before this time have cleared their titles to a share of the reputation acquired by it: which as they have never yet done, I see no reason why Mr. Boyle should not be looked upon as the sole author of that piece; or why, as the labour and merit of it was his own, his claim to 'he deserved applause it has met with should ever for the future be called in question.' Even his son, however (the late Lord Corke) in his remarks on this passage in Swift, does not dispute the suggestion, but well observes; "that the gods never bestowed celestial armour except upon heroes, whose courage and superior strength distinguished them from the rest of mankind."

\* An expression, which he elsewhere professes to have borrowed from Cicero (*Epist. ad Att.* vii. 12).

another in the last! In the title-page, I die the death of Milo the Crotonian;

—— ‘Remember Milo’s end,

Wedged in that timber which he strove to rend.’

The application of which must be this: that as Milo, after his victories at six several Olympiads, was at last conquered and destroyed in wrestling with a tree; so I, after I had attained to some small reputation in letters, am to be quite buffeted and run down by wooden antagonists. But, in the end of his book he has got me into Phalaris’ Bull, and he has the pleasure of fancying that he begins to ‘hear me bellow.’ Well, since it is certain that I am in the Bull, I have performed the part of a sufferer. For, as the cries of the tormented in old Phalaris’ Bull, being conveyed through pipes lodged in the machine, were turned into music for the entertainment of the tyrant; so the complaints, which *my* torments express from me, being conveyed to Mr. Boyle by this answer, are all dedicated to his pleasure and diversion. But yet, methinks, when he was setting up to be Phalaris Junior, the very omen of it might have deterred him. As the old tyrant himself at last bellowed in *his* own Bull, his imitators ought to consider that at the long run their own actions may chance to overtake them.\*

\* Boyle it appears, not satisfied with the celebrity of his prose, ventured to try poetry, in which no one seems to have suspected the aid of ‘the Bees.’ Sir Richard Blackmore, in his ‘Satire against Wit,’ in which he paints Bentley ‘crowned with applause’ and seated amidst the spoils of ruin’d wits,’ remarks of his youthful antagonist;

‘After his foolish rhymes, both friends and foes  
Conclude they know *who did not write his prose.*’

From the caprice, however, or the partiality of the age, the Oxford Confederacy were the general favourites. The stronger argument and the more profound erudition of Bentley won for him the enduring suffrages of the reasoning and the learned; but the laughers, who constitute a great majority, were seduced by the art of Boyle and his allies.

The chief scholars of that day, next to Bentley, were Kuster, Baxter, and Barnes. Of these, the two former had the highest opinion of Bentley's talents and learning: and, if he met with less respect from the last, it may be accounted for from the harshness, which he had himself shown in his strictures upon one or two passages in the recent edition of Homer by the Emanuel critic.\* These few, however

\* Attached to the 1777 edition of Bentley's Dissertation is a letter of his to Dr. Davies, President of Queen's College, Cambridge, containing a very severe criticism upon this laborious work. That Dr. Clarke had seen this letter, may be concluded from his notes on Iliad A. 462. and E. 101., written in a strain so unlike himself, that Barnes (had he lived to read them) might justly have observed, "*Non te dignum, Clarkê, fecisti; nam si ego dignus essem hâc contumeliâ quàm maximè, at tu indignus qui faceres tamen.*" Barnes is mentioned in the Dissertation, p. 325, as having 'thrust himself into it.'

But whatever errors he may have committed, we ought to acknowledge ourselves greatly indebted to his industry; though his learning was certainly more considerable than the natural prowess of his understanding, and he was perhaps accurately characterised by the happy inscription, representing him as *felicis Memorise expectans Judicium*. But classical learning was, then, very confined. It has fared better in these later days, even before the Porsons and the Burneys made their appearance. "The profound Greek literature (said Hurd in a letter to Warburton, 1764) seemed to have taken refuge in the farthest nook of the West. Toup's two pieces of Suidas are considerable in

illustrious, partisans could not sustain their hero against the burlesque and petty conceits of his assailants; though Dodwell himself, who was supposed to have been concerned in compiling the 'Reply,' had the candor to declare that, 'in no volume of the same size had he ever discovered so much critical sagacity and sound learning.'

The titles and dates of the principal productions, called forth by this controversy, are as follows:

1. Mr. Boyle's *Phalaris*, 1694.
2. Dr. Bentley's *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Themistocles*, &c. 1697.
3. Mr. Boyle's *Examination of the Dissertation*, &c. 1698.
4. Dr. Bentley's *Reply*, 1699.\*

their way. He is certainly well skilled in the Greek tongue, and possesses beside a particle or two discerped from Bentley's *vsq*, which I regard as the soul or *το πνευ*, as we may say, of the critical world."

"I have a poor opinion," observes Dr. Warburton, "both of Markland's and Taylor's critical abilities, between friends. I speak from what I have seen: good sense is the foundation of criticism; this it is, that has made Dr. Bentley and Bishop Hare the two greatest critics that were ever in the world. Not that good sense alone will be sufficient.\* For that considerable part of it, emending a corrupt text, there must be a certain sagacity, which is so distinguishing a quality in Dr. Bentley. Dr. Clarke had all the requisites of a critic but this; and this he wanted. Lipsius, Joseph Scaliger, Faber, Isaac Vossius, Salmasius had it in a great degree; but these are few, among the infinite tribe of critics." (*MSS. in the British Museum.*)

\* Reprinted in 1777 by the English Stephani, Bowyer and Nichols, under the correction of Dr. Salter (one of the writers in the 'Athenian Letters,' and Master of the Charter House) and enriched with Bowyer's marginal remarks, selected from the writings and personal communications of Bishops Warburton and Lowth, Upton, W. Clarke, Markland, Dr. Salter, Owen,

## 5. Dr. King's Dialogues of the Dead, 1699.

and Toup. The peculiarities in it's punctuation and orthography, however, were animadverted upon at great length in the Critical Review, XLIII. pp. 7—12., by the Rev. Mr. Robertson; who assigns, as a justification of his severity, the deference due to the character of one of the most illustrious critics that has ever appeared in this nation. Not a phrase (he observes) not a letter, of his should be altered upon a mere hypothesis. In points of orthography the learned, both in our own country and in others, nay even the literati of future ages, may be curious to know the sentiments and practice of Dr. Bentley. It is, therefore, a piece of justice we owe to the Republic of Letters, to exhibit a faithful copy of a work, which will be transmitted with applause to the latest posterity."

It may be added, on Mr. Nichols' authority, as a disgraceful fact, that of the 350 copies printed of this edition by far the greater part were sold for *waste paper*!! It is now, in consequence, a scarce book. To adduce only one testimony, itself however upon such a subject *instar omnium*, in favour of this work: *Bentleius in immortalis istâ de Phalaridis Epistolis Dissertatione*, says the uncomplimenting Porson. It is, indeed, a volume of acuteness and erudition "never to die." The compositions which approach nearest to it in subtilty and conclusiveness, are perhaps the Professor's own Letters to Mr. Travis on the 'Three Heavenly Witnesses,' 1 John v. 7.; and Paley's '*Horæ Paulinæ*.'

For the amusement of scholars, I cannot forbear extracting from Burgess' Edition of Dawes' *Miscellanea Critica* a note bearing upon the learned subject of this piece of biography: *Huic specimini—novam et minusculam Digamma formam F pro vetustâ illâ F feci curavit Salterus, quæ cæteris literis conveniret æquè ac γ, ς, ζ, &c. Recordari quoque potuit notissimum Papii locum,*

While towering o'er your alphabet, like Saul,  
Stands our Digamma, and o'ertops them all (*Dunc.* iv. 217.);

*Ubi Satiricus ille, in versibus quidem fucetis at admodum ridiculis Bentleium et Digamma suum scilicet in ludibrium vertit, ingeniosior sanè quam doctior poeta. De loco illò, cujus sales nonnihil desipuit Salteri inventum, vide quoque Fosterum, p. 133.*

6. A short Account of Dr. Bentley's Humanity and Justice, 1699 (ascribed, also, to Dr. King); and

7. A short Review of the Controversy between Mr. Boyle and Dr. Bentley, 1701.

In 1696, on being admitted to the degree of D.D. at Cambridge, he preached his Commencement Sermon, on 1 Pet. iii. 15. Some time afterward, he was admitted *ad eundem* at Oxford.

About this time, the University of Cambridge projected a publication of some of the classics in quarto, for the use of the Duke of Gloucester. Bentley being consulted on the design, advised Laughton, the destined editor of Virgil, to 'follow Heinsius very closely;' but his suggestion was neglected. Terence was published by Long, Horace by Talbot, and Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius by Mr. Annesley, afterward Earl of Anglesey. Bentley procured the types from Holland upon the occasion. By the express desire of Grævius, he published his 'Animadversions and Remarks upon Callimachus,' collecting at the same time and transmitting to that celebrated critic some scattered fragments of the poet, which were printed abroad in 1697. Upon this occasion being charged with having pillaged some manuscript notes of Stanley, lent to him by Sir Edward Sherburne, he published in the preface to his 'Dissertation on Phalaris,' a minute and copious reply; which, however, was in many particulars positively contradicted by Sir Edward himself. But whatever obligations he might have to those papers, it cannot be doubted that he contributed, likewise, great additions of his own.

February 1, 1699-1700, on the death of Dr. Mon-



tagu, with a view of restoring discipline and learning in Trinity College, he was presented by six eminent Bishops, to whom King William had committed the disposal of many of the ecclesiastical preferments in the gift of the crown, to the Mastership of that Society; upon which, he resigned his prebend of Worcester: and in June 1701, he was collated by Bishop Patrick to the Archdeaconry of Ely in the room of Dr. Saywell.

Soon after the accession of Queen Anne, he was appointed Royal Chaplain, as he had also been under her predecessor.

In 1709, from his overbearing domination at the head of his new college, and perhaps also from some unpopular reformations of offices and curtailments of salaries, in which he probably had not been wholly indifferent to his own interests, a complaint was urged against him before the Bishop of Ely (Dr. More) as visitor, by the Vice-Master, and the seven senior Fellows, accusing him among other charges of having embezzled the college-money. Upon this, he in 1710 published his 'Present State of Trinity College,' in which he insisted, that the Crown was the Visitor. And thus began a quarrel, which continued with unabating virulence till 1731, when the Crown asserted it's general visitatorial right, but declined interfering in the existing dispute. And thus, through certain niceties of law (as Whiston says) and ambiguities of statutes, the matter virtually terminated in Bentley's favour.\*

\* With respect to this protracted dispute, we are informed by Whiston that, after four years of unexceptionable conduct, Bentley was induced in a single instance to recede from that best of rules (now invariably observed in Trinity College elections) of

In 1710, he published at Amsterdam his Critical Observations upon the two first Comedies of Aris-

‘*Detur digniori*,’ in the appointment to a Fellowship. And hence ensued the feud, and all it’s consequences. “I will only relate here what I take to have been the *πρῶτον ψευδος*, or first beginning of his unhappy management, which I was myself a witness to. I always compare this his proceeding to the Pythagoric Y, where the ascent from the bottom is direct and unexceptionable, till you come to the divarication of the two lines; whence Virtue proceeds straight on to the right hand and Vice to the left, and where though at first the distance of the lines be very small and easily stepped over, yet does it after a while become too large for any step whatsoever. Now Dr. Bentley, as I have already intimated, for about four years had proceeded up the bottom stem very directly, and had examined every candidate for scholarships and fellowships thoroughly, and seemed as nearly as possible to have given every one the place he really deserved; when about 1703 or 1704, he gave a fellowship to one, whom he confessed to be inferior in learning to his antagonist, though it being a new thing with him, he did it with reluctance. The reasons he gave for doing so this once, he told me, were these two; the one, that ‘Mr. Stubbs the less deserving, was nephew to Dr. Stubbs, Professor of the Hebrew tongue in the University, and Vice-master of the College, who was so rich that he could give the College 10,000/.’ (though, by the way, I never heard that he gave it one groat): the other reason was that, ‘if he made Mr. Stubbs fellow, his uncle would probably be his fast friend at all future elections, and by these means he could in a manner govern them all as he pleased.’ Upon these two considerations, he ventured to choose Mr. Stubbs against a more deserving candidate, and so to break in upon his integrity; and, I think, he never afterward returned to it: which as it was of the most fatal consequence to that College, so did the Master find it very unhappy to himself also. For Mr. Stubbs not only proved a vile man, to his great disreputation; but he, together with his uncle, came before the Bishop of Ely (More) in open court, to be witnesses against him, in order to his expulsion. Hence we may all learn that old maxim, *Principiis obstare*, and never to begin to do an unjust or wicked thing.” (*Whiston’s Memoirs*.) Mr. Nichols, likewise, in his ‘Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century,’ states that Bentley con-

tophanes; and at Rheims his *Emendations of the Fragments of Menander and Philemon*, under the

sented to elect Zachary Pearce, afterward Bishop of Rochester, Fellow of Trinity College, on the recommendation of Lord Chief Justice Parker (subsequently Earl of Macclesfield, to whom Pearce at the age of twenty six had fortunately recommended himself by the dedication of his *Cicero de Oratore* in 1716) upon condition that his Lordship should unmake him again as soon as it lay in his power to give him a living.—“Melancholy consideration,” observes Mr. Ashby, *in loc.* “that a young man from the foundation of Westminster, who could publish a tract of Tully’s, must have a patron to ask the Master of Trinity, himself the first of scholars in the same line, that he may be a fellow!”

And yet (upon what principle, or want of principle rather, must now perhaps for ever remain unknown) the same Dr. Bentley, *after inviting the ingenious Mr. Benjamin Stillingfleet to his college*, from respect to the memory of his father and his grandfather, to the first of whom he had been tutor and to the latter chaplain, *caused him to be refused a fellowship*: a disappointment, for which he shamelessly apologised by saying, that “it was a pity a gentleman of Mr. Stillingfleet’s parts should be buried within the walls of a college!” But infamous conduct of this kind, whether traced to a Bentley or to one in every respect infinitely less than Bentley, cannot by any such miserable palliation be sheltered from the detestation or the contempt of honourable minds. From his ‘*Essay on Conversation*,’ 1757, printed in the first volume of Dodsley’s *Collection of Poems*, it appears that this respectable man, after a lapse of upward of thirty years, still felt himself sore from Dr. Bentley’s cruel and unmerited treatment.

Mr. Gough, in his ‘*Anecdotes of Topography*,’ *Art.* ‘*Cambridgeshire*,’ has given an accurate account of his controversies both with his College and with the University: and there are, likewise, some authentic papers upon the subject in the Harleian MSS. Though the affair, however, never came to a trial, it appears from various circumstances (particularly, from an unanswered letter of Dr. Middleton’s), that there was some foundation for the charges adduced. For Dr. Middleton’s animosity he was indebted to the circumstance of having once contemptuously called him, in reference to his musical passion, ‘fiddling Con-

name of '*Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*.' The following year was distinguished by the first edition of his celebrated Horace. In this, he proposed not so much to explain, as to correct, his author by the help of MSS., early editions, and conjecture; and such was his acumen, that his emendations (even when not decidedly genuine) have almost every where the air of the highest probability. Abroad, it encountered in Le Clerc its chief opponent. At home, two small volumes came out in numbers, entitled '*The Odes and Epodes of Horace, in Latin and English, with a Translation of Dr. Bentley's Notes. To which are added, Notes upon Notes, done in the Bentleian stile and manner;*' a performance of considerable spirit and humour.

In 1713, he published, under his formerly assumed name of '*Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*,' his admirable Re-

yers.' This led Middleton to deeper studies. Upon Bentley's '*Proposals*' for an edition of the New Testament in 1716, he remarked, "paragraph by paragraph," with a keenness which completely cut up the project. The subscription-money (2000*l.*) was returned, and the work *pendet interruptum*! Bentley's puny revenge was, under the signature J. E. (the two first vowels of his two names), to treat the '*Remarks*' as if written by a Dr. Colbatch his enemy, senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Casuistical Professor of Divinity; thus indulging himself at once in the double gratification of abusing the accused, and showing his contempt for the real author. The former object he accomplished to a degree, which the Vice-Chancellor and his friends pronounced "a most scandalous and malicious libel:" and the latter drew from Dr. Middleton a second series of '*Remarks*' sanctioned by his name, and as pungent as those which had preceded. M.'s very appropriate motto was, '*Doctus criticus et adsuetus urere, secare, inclementer omnis generis libros tractare, apices, syllabas, voces, dictiones confodere et stilo exigere, continebitne ille ab integro et intaminato divinae sapientiae monumento crudeles ungues.*' (P. Burmanni Orat.)

marks upon Collins' 'Discourse on Free-thinking,' which he dedicated to Dr. Hare.\*

In 1715, he preached a sermon against Popery, on November 5, before the University; which drawing forth some remarks from an anonymous critic, he published a reply to them in 1717.

In the intervening year, upon the death of Dr. James, he succeeded to the chair of Regius Professor of Divinity; and in right of his office became possessed of the valuable preferment of Somersham Pildley and Colne in the county of Huntingdon. He now published his proposals for an edition of the Greek Testament, in which he stated his determination not to use any manuscript of less than a thousand years of age, of which he himself possessed at that time twenty in his study. The caustic remarks, however, made upon his projects by his keen and implacable enemies frustrated the undertaking. This was of no small disservice to the cause of sacred literature. The completion of it was the principal employment of his life. For the purpose of collating MSS., one of his nephews traversed Europe at his expense. From

\* Collins was destined to sustain rude attacks, likewise, from other quarters. His superficial and illiberal work being published in 1713, when party-zeal was at the highest, was instantly pronounced by the Tories, as it's author was a great stickler for the Hanover succession, 'the creed of the greater part of their antagonists.' The Whigs, on their part, indignantly disclaimed all connexion with a writer, who far from being of the Low Church, plainly discovered himself to be of none at all. Hence probably Steele's paper, the 'Guardian,' contends so frequently and so vehemently against him, not only in it's virulent Third Number (which almost denies to the Freethinker the common benefits of air and water), but also, less directly, in Nos. ix, xxvii, lv, lxii, lxx, lxxvii, lxxxiii, &c. all said to have been written by Bishop Berkeley.

his letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated April 15, 1716, the following extract is subjoined :

— “ Since that time I have fallen into a course of studies, that led me to peruse many of the oldest MSS. of the Greek Testament, and of the Latin too of St. Jerom, of which there are several in England a full thousand years old. The result of which has been, that I find I am able (what some thought impossible) to give an edition of the Greek Testament, exactly as it was in the best examples at the time of the Council of Nice, so that there shall not be twenty words, nor even particles, difference: and this shall carry it's own demonstration in every verse, which I affirm cannot be so done of any other ancient book Greek or Latin. So that that book, which by the present management is thought the most uncertain, shall have a testimony of certainty above all other books whatever, and an end put at once to all the various readings now or hereafter.

“ The New Testament has been under a hard fate since the invention of printing. After the Complutenses and Erasmus, who had but very ordinary MSS., it has become the property of booksellers. Robert Stephens' edition, set out and regulated by himself alone, is now become the standard. The text stands, as if an Apostle was his compositor.

“ No heathen author has had such ill fortune. Terence, Ovid, &c., for the first century after printing, went about with twenty thousand errors in them. But when learned men undertook them, and from the oldest MSS. set out corrected editions, those errors fell and vanished. But if they had kept to the first published text, and set the various readings only in the

margin, those classic authors would be as clogged with variations as Dr. Mill's Testament is.

"Sixtus (V.) and Clemens (VIII.), at a vast expense, had an assembly of divines to revise and adjust the Latin Vulgate, and then enacted their new edition authentic: but I find, though I have not discovered any thing done *dolo malo*, they were quite unequal to the affair. They were mere *theologi*, had no experience in MSS., nor made use of good Greek copies, and followed books of five hundred years before books of double that age: nay, I believe they took these new ones for the older of the two; for it is not every body, who knows the age of a MS.

"To conclude—In a word, I find that by taking two thousand errors out of the Pope's Vulgate, and as many out of the Protestant Pope Stephens', I can set out an edition of each in columns, without using any book under nine hundred years old, that shall so exactly agree word for word, and (what at first amazed me) order for order, that no two tallies nor two indentures can agree better.

"I affirm that these, so placed, will prove each other to a demonstration: for I alter not a letter of my own head, without the authority of these old witnesses.\* And the beauty of the composition (barba-

\* To this he was pledged by paragraph the fifth of his Proposals. "The author is very sensible, that in the Sacred Writings there is no place for conjectures or emendations. Diligence and fidelity, with some judgement and experience, are the characters here requisite. He declares, therefore, that he does not alter one letter in the text, without the authorities subjoined in the notes, &c." This, his adversary says, was done 'to quiet the apprehensions people were under, lest he should treat the sacred writings with as little ceremony as he had done the profane, mangle and alter them at pleasure, agreeably to his own taste and judge-

rous, God knows, at best) is so improved as to make it more worthy of a revelation, and yet no one text of consequence is injured or weakened.

ment, without regard to the authority of MSS." In the sixth paragraph he adds, "If the author has any thing to suggest toward a change of the text, not supported by any copies now extant, he will offer it separately in his '*Prolegomena*.'"—"In this work, he is of no sect or party; his design is to serve the whole Christian name. He draws no consequences in his notes; makes no oblique glances upon any disputed points, old or new." He then, after announcing in his peculiar spirit (as it is alleged against him by one of his adversaries) that "he consecrates this work as a *κευμήλιον*, a *κείμενον* *εσται*, a charter, a *Magna Charta* to the whole Christian Church, to last when all the ancient MSS. there quoted may be lost and extinguished;" winds up with representing the great expense to be incurred, as the size is to be two tomes in folio, and the letter, paper, and ink the best that Europe affords; naming his coadjutor, collator, overseer, and corrector of the press, Mr. John Walker of Trinity, 'a young man, who is to divide with himself the issue of the enterprise, whether gain or loss;' and finally states the terms of subscription for the smaller and great paper, three and five guineas respectively, of which a part is in both cases to be advanced by the subscribers.

It surely cannot be regarded as dispassionate criticism in Dr. Middleton, when we hear him asserting in reply, that Bentley had "neither talents nor materials proper for the work he had undertaken, and that religion was much more likely to receive detriment than service from it: the time, manner, and other circumstances of publishing these Proposals making it but too evident, that they were hastened out to serve quite different ends than those of common Christianity!" He affects, indeed, in the Preface to his second and avowed set of Remarks, to be alarmed at the threat of a meditated Answer to his preceding Pamphlet; recollecting that his antagonist, in his Horace, had pronounced himself *non rarò datâ operâ brevior contractiorque, consultò viribus parcens, et quæ in promptu erant opes dissimulans; ut stolidi et ad depugnandum parati se in laqueos insipientes induerent, risum jocumque nasulioribus daturi*; but all his fears, he adds, on the appearance of the Reply were speedily at an end



“ My Lord, if a casual fire should take either his Majesty’s library or the King’s of France, all the world could not do this,” &c.

In a subsequent letter, he adds :

“ In this work I indulge nothing to any conjecture, not even in a letter, but proceed solely upon authority of copies, and fathers of that age. And what will be the event about the said verse of John (1 Epist. v. 7.) I myself know not yet, having not used all the old copies I have information of.

“ But by this you see that, in my proposed work, the fate of that verse will be a mere question of fact. You endeavour to prove (and that is all you aspire to) that it may have been written by the Apostle, being consonant to his doctrine. This I concede to you; and if the fourth century knew that text, let it come in, in God’s name : but if that age did not know it, then Arianism in it’s height was beaten down, without the help of that verse ; and let the fact prove as it will, the doctrine is unshaken.”

In 1717, George I. being on a visit to the University of Cambridge, and having nominated by mandate several persons for the degree of D.D., Dr. Bentley (whose office it was, as Professor, to perform the ceremony called ‘ Creation ’) demanded four guineas from each, in addition to the broad piece of gold customarily presented upon such occasions. Hence arose a second dispute, originated chiefly by Dr. Middleton ; \* during which the Professor, for his contu-

\* Who however, with several others, consented to pay the fee in question, upon condition that the money should be restored, if it were not afterward decreed to be his right. In spite of a determination against him, Bentley kept the money, upon which Dr. Middleton commenced an action. The Professor refusing to

macious disregard of academical authority,\* was first suspended and afterward degraded: but upon petition to his Majesty, the matter was, after successive references to the Council and to a Committee of the Council, brought before the Court of King's Bench; which after hearing both sides issued it's *mandamus*, charging the University to reverse their proceedings, and restore him to all his privileges and honours.

Of a natural temper, which enabled him to ride

create the refractory candidates, Dr. Grigg (who was then Vice-Chancellor) ordered some other Doctor to perform the ceremony; and accordingly Dr. Fisher, Master of Sidney College, created several for the ordinary gratuity of a broad piece. He likewise, by the advice of his friends, published within the year 1719, 'A full and impartial Account of all the late Proceedings against Dr. Bentley, in two Parts; 'Some Remarks on a Pamphlet, &c.' (by Dr. Sykes) in favour of his great adversary, and 'A true Account of the present State of Trinity College in Cambridge, under the oppressive Government of their Master, Richard Bentley, late D.D.;' of which last, in consequence of a prosecution instituted by Dr. B., he publicly advertised himself to be the author. It should be added, that these proceedings against the illustrious Master of Trinity were by many suspected to flow less from any real demerit in their object, than from a certain spirit of opposition to the Court, of which he was regarded as the great academical bulwark: Dr. M. being then a strong Tory, though like Bishop Gooch and other considerable persons, he subsequently became a zealous Whig.

\* In consequence of an affidavit made by the Beadle, that Dr. Bentley had said, 'I will not be concluded by what the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Gooch) and two or three of his friends shall determine over a bottle;' he was condemned unheard, and deprived of all his academical degrees, rights, and offices. His judge had said, 'if ever Bentley came before him, he would condemn him.' The 'friends' were Drs. Covel, Balderston, Lany, Adams, and Sherlock, the rival Professor Dr. Fisher, and Drs. Grigg and Jenkin, Masters of St. John's College and Clare Hall.

out these storms with little interruption either of his tranquillity or of his literary pursuits, and generally, indeed, opposed to adversaries whose rancor urged them to exaggerate charges (originally, perhaps, in no instance unfounded) to a degree fatal to their success, Dr. Bentley appears to have been too rapacious of money : and yet the noble stile, in which he fitted up the Lodge at Trinity College, sufficiently proves that he did not “hug the mammon for itself.”

In 1725, at a public Commencement, he delivered an elegant Latin speech on creating seven Doctors of Divinity, (Ellis and Mawson of Benet, Mangey, Newcome, and Palmer of St. John's, Waterland of Magdalen, and Bishop of Sidney College), in which is perspicuously set forth the whole process of that ceremony. He, afterward, prefixed it to his edition of Terence in the following year.

With regard to the last-mentioned work, the following circumstances have been stated : Dr. Hare, himself a good scholar, had the highest reverence for Bentley's superiority. To him had been addressed the ‘Remarks upon Collins on Freethinking ;’ and in a tract, now scarce, and not included in the collection of his works, he had returned ‘The Clergyman's Thanks to *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis* for those Remarks.’ During the continuance of their intimacy, Hare used frequently to introduce the subject of the Terentian metres, upon which (as, indeed, upon all subjects, when he saw taste or genius solicitous for information) Bentley was liberally communicative. At last, as he often returned complaining with the dialogist in Cicero, ‘while I am with you, I seem to understand it all ; but, when I come to con it over by myself at home, I find I know nothing :’ Bentley

told him 'he must get Faërnus.\*' By the help of this valuable critic, and a few more smuggled lectures, Hare thought himself now competent to give a

\* *Romæ vetustissimos omnium (says Bentley) qui hodiè supersunt Terentii Codices nactus [Faërnus] luculentissimam editionem Petro Victorio procurandam moriens reliquit ; sine cujus vel auxilio vel saltem usu quicquam hîc novi adtentare, foret hominis de operâ suâ et existimatione ludentis.* These MSS., Hare informs us in his Preface, he owed not less to his general reputation as a scholar, than to his interest with his patron Pius IV. of the family of Medici, and his nephew, the pride of the purple, Cardinal Borromeo.

The antecedent quarrel of the two editors was as follows: Bentley, capricious in his political attachments, had dedicated to Lord Treasurer Oxford the Horace, which was originally to have done honour to his fellow-collegian Lord Halifax. Lord Townsend who, in 1724, had caused to be founded a new Professorship (of Modern Languages) in each University, and had impartially divided his favour between them likewise in a second instance by summoning from each an equal number of clergymen to preach in course at Whitehall, had farther procured for his own seminary at Cambridge the Sovereign's donation of Bishop More's Library, and meditated securing the changeable scholar by a magnificent pension of 1000*l.*, in consideration of his undertaking to publish, *suo arbitrio*, some of the classics for the use of the royal grandchildren. A malignant suggestion (as Bentley was persuaded) of the negotiating friend Hare, or as some have asserted, of Gooch, defeated the project. Instead of a certain stipend and an arbitrary mode of publication, it was invidiously proposed, that the remuneration should be rated at so much *per sheet*! Bentley, with noble scorn, rejected the offer. And he discarded likewise the agent, through whose medium, perhaps at whose suggestion, it was made. But "I chose," said he, "*dissuere amicitiam, non disrumpere.*"

Hare, in an '*Epistola Critica*,' made a feeble attack upon the *Vulcania arma* of his great adversary, and drew from Whiston the remark, 'how intolerable it was, that while the illustrious laymen Grotius, Newton, and Locke were employing their talents on sacred studies, two powerful divines were fighting about a play-book.'

new edition of Terence, which he had long clandestinely projected. It made its appearance in 1724, dedicated to Charles Viscount Townshend of Rainham, at that time Secretary of State, in whose favour he had undermined Bentley. The latter, naturally exasperated by the treachery of the whole business, supplanted with his patron, 'interverted' (to adopt his own expression) in his literary object, and already estranged from Hare upon other accounts, with a view of completely ruining the new work rapidly hastened out his own, allowing only a week to each play, within which short space he finished their respective annotations; and the other 'has never been heard of since.' His volume was published in 1726, with the notes of Gabriel Faërnus mingled among his own, a Schediasma on the Metres of his author, and by way of retaliation, as he knew Hare was preparing his Phædrus, a corrected edition of the *Fabulist* and the *Sententiæ Publii Syri*.

In 1732, Dr. Bentley gave to the world his edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, an elegant piece of typography, but not advantageous to his literary reputation. He does not appear, indeed, to have anticipated fame from the undertaking. "Had these notes," he observes at the end of his Preface, "been written forty years ago, it would then have been prudence to have suppressed them, for fear of injuring one's rising fortune. But now, when seventy years *jamdudum memorem monuerunt*, and spoken loudly in my ears

*Mitte leves spes et certamina divitiarum,*

I made the notes *extempore*, and put them to the

press as soon as made; without any apprehension of growing leaner by censures, or plumper by commendations."

To this undertaking he was led, it is supposed, by the suggestion of Queen Caroline, who complained that 'he had confined his criticism to foreign classics:' but, in spite of his renunciation of the *certamina divitiarum*, he did not disdain to receive a hundred guineas from the booksellers for his subitaneous labours.

He had prepared also an edition of Manilius, but the dearness of paper and the want of good types long intercepted it's publication: and he meditated an edition of Hesychius, in whom (as he assured Dr. Mill) he could 'correct five thousand faults.' His emendations of the 'Tusculan Questions' of Cicero were published by his friend Davis, in his edition of that work.

He died at Cambridge, July 14, 1742, in his eighty first year,\* and was buried in Trinity College Chapel. To his latest hours he could read the smallest Greek character without the assistance of glasses; and his death was at last occasioned by a young man's disorder, a pleurisy.

Of a large and robust frame of body, and of strong features, he had likewise a dignity of demeanor almost amounting to severity, which probably deepened the general impression of his moroseness and arrogance: yet was his disposition naturally so gentle, and his temper so sweet, that 'he never (we are told)

\* He used to compare himself to an old trunk, 'which if let alone, will stand long in a corner; but, if jumbled by moving, will soon fall to pieces.'

read a touching story without tears.' A slight paralytic stroke, which he had once suffered, it has been suggested, contributed to render this softness of his nature more apparent; though, previously to that event, he was distinguished in his family for his singular suavity.\* " His ordinary stile of conversation (says his grandson, Mr. Cumberland, in his Auto-biography) was naturally lofty, and his frequent use of 'thou' and 'thee' carried with it a kind of dictatorial tone, that savoured more of the closet than the court. This is readily admitted; and this, on first approaches, might mislead a stranger. But the native candor and inherent tenderness of his heart could not long be veiled from observation: for his feelings and affections were at once too impulsive to be long repressed, and he too careless of concealment to attempt at qualifying them. Such was his sensibility toward human sufferings, that it became a duty with his family to divert the conversation from all topics of that sort: and if he touched upon them himself, he was betrayed into agitations, which if any one ascribes to paralytic weakness, he will greatly mistake a man, who to the last hour of his life possessed his faculties firm and in their full vigour. His emotions on these occasions had no other source and origin, but in the natural and pure benevolence of his heart.

" He was communicative to all, without distinction, that sought information or that resorted to him for assistance; fond of his college almost to enthu-

\* In the contest about the visitatorial power, it is said, on meeting his old friend Bishop More in array against him, he actually fainted away in the court!

siasm, and ever zealous for the honour of the purple gown of Trinity. When he held examinations for fellowships, and the modest candidate exhibited marks of agitation and alarm, he never failed to interpret candidly of such symptoms : and on those occasions he was never known to press the hesitating and embarrassed examinant, but oftentimes on the contrary would take all the pains of expounding on himself, and credit the exonerated youth for answers and interpretations of his own suggesting. If this was not strict justice, it was (at least, in my conception of it) something better, and more amiable.

“ Bentley’s wife was a woman remarkable for sensibility and judgement, and a most amiable disposition. She loved, and revered, her husband. When in conversation with him on the subject of his works, she found occasion to lament that ‘ he had bestowed so great a portion of his time and talents upon criticism, instead of employing them upon original composition ; ’ he acknowledged the justice of her regret with extreme sensibility, and remained for a considerable time thoughtful and seemingly embarrassed by the nature of her remark. At last, recollecting himself, he said ; ‘ Child, I am sensible I have not always turned my talents to the proper use, for which I should presume they were given to me : yet I have done something for the honour of my God, and the edification of my fellow-creatures. But the wit and genius of those Old Heathens beguiled me ; and, as I despaired of raising up myself to their standard upon fair ground, I thought the only chance I had of looking over their heads was to get upon their shoulders.’ ”

“ I had a sister,” Cumberland elsewhere observes,



“ somewhat older than myself. Had there been any of that sternness in my grandfather, which is so falsely imputed to him, it may well be supposed we should have been awed into silence in his presence, to which we were admitted every day. Nothing can be farther from the truth: he was the unwearied patron and promoter of all our childish sports and sallies; at all times ready to detach himself from any topic of conversation, to take an interest and bear his part in our amusements. The eager curiosity natural to our age, and the questions it gave birth to (so teasing to many parents) he, on the contrary attended to and encouraged, as the claims of infant reason never to be evaded or abused; strongly recommending, that ‘to all such inquiries answers should be given according to the strictest truth, and information dealt to us in the clearest terms, as a sacred duty never to be departed from.’ I have broken in upon him many a time in his hours of study, when he would put his book aside, ring his hand-bell for his servant, and be led to his shelves to take down a picture-book for my amusement. I do not say, that his good-nature always gained its object, as the pictures his books generally supplied me with were anatomical drawings of dissected bodies, very little calculated to communicate delight: but he had nothing better to produce; and surely such an effort on his part, however unsuccessful, was no feature of a cynic—a cynic ‘should be made of sterner stuff.’

“ Once, and only once, I recollect his giving me a gentle rebuke for making a most outrageous noise in the room over his library, and disturbing him in his studies. I had no apprehension of anger from him, and confidently answered that ‘I could not help it, as

I had been at battledore and shuttlecock with Master Gooch, the Bishop of Ely's son : ' And I have been at this sport with his father,' he replied ; ' but thine has been the more amusing game—so there's no harm done.' ”

He also adds, that ' Collins the Freethinker in his latter days having fallen into indigence, Bentley who conceived himself in some degree responsible for his loss of reputation, with equal delicacy and liberality contrived to relieve his necessities.'

Backward in general to cultivate the society of any except those, who were distinguished by their talents and acquirements, where he found those qualities he became a warm and sincere friend. As a husband, he was affectionate, and as a parent most indulgent.

He married a daughter of Sir John Bernard of Brampton in Huntingdonshire, by whom he had one son Richard (who died in 1782, after having spent a life of distress in consequence of his imprudences, though patronised successively by Horace Walpole, Bubb Doddington, and Lord Bute) and two daughters, Elizabeth and Joanna. Elizabeth married first Humphrey Ridge, Esq., and secondly the Rev. Dr. Favell, Rector of Witton near Huntingdon. Joanna, the ' Phœbe ' of Dr. Byron's celebrated pastoral, ' My time, O ye Muses,' &c. ; (published in the *Spectator*, No. 603) married the Rev. Denison Cumberland, son of the Bishop of Peterborough, and himself subsequently Bishop of Kilmore, and was mother of the late Richard Cumberland, Esq.

When we reflect upon his abilities and his erudition, and particularly his unparalleled metrical knowledge, in the attainment of which he had been assisted by his uncommon accuracy of ear, giving him

the nicest perception of rhythmical harmony, it surely casts no little disgrace upon our country, that even his literary reputation should have been so long regarded with indifference, and that he himself should have been represented as a 'mere verbal critic'\* and

\* Dr. Lowth, in a 'Letter to the Right Reverend Author of the Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated,' 1765, having animadverted upon the character of Dr. Bentley, was answered by Mr. Cumberland, in a Letter published in 1767. "He was hooked in (says the pious grandson) as a 'mere verbal critic,' who in matters of taste and elegant literature was contemptibly deficient, *aut caprimulgus aut fossor*; terms, that in English would have been downright blackguardism.—All the world (Mr. C. continues) knows, that Warburton and Lowth had mouthed and mumbled each other till their very hands blushed, and their lawn sleeves were bloody. I should have thought that the Prelate, who had Warburton for his antagonist, would hardly have found leisure from his own self-defence, to have turned aside and fixed his teeth in a by-stander. Yet so it was! Upon this "unmanly unprovoked attack, the nearest in blood and strongest in capacity" (Richard Bentley) not only declined having any thing to do with the affair, but also warned his nephew, who was buckling on his armour, that 'he was about to draw a complete discomfiture on his cause.' This did not, however, discourage the youthful champion. He drew his bow hardily; and the arrow, he informs us, did not miss his aim. Lowth had the grace not to attempt a justification of himself; and refused even to sanction a reply tendered to him by a clergyman of his diocese, acknowledging that 'C. had just reason for a retaliation.' I extract one paragraph from the pamphlet in question: "Recollect, my Lord, the warmth, the piety, with which you remonstrated against Bishop Warburton's treatment of your father in a passage of his Julian: *It is not* (you there say) *in behalf of myself, that I expostulate; but of one, for whom I am much more concerned—my father.* These are your Lordship's words—amiable, affecting expressions! instructive lesson of filial devotion! Alas! my Lord, that you, who were thus sensible to the least speck which fell upon the reputation of your father, should be so inveterate against the fame of one at least as eminent, and perhaps not less dear to his family."

a pedant without genius. This however we may regard, perhaps with truth, as less owing to the Boylean controversy, than to the wits and especially the poets of the day, who from various causes combined against him. The ‘slashing Bentley’ of Pope \* will be remembered and repeated by thousands, who are utterly incapable of ascertaining or even of comprehending his real merit. But strangers have already done him that justice, which his countrymen are now only beginning tardily to pay to his memory. Kuster pronounced him *Vir supra captum sæculi sui doctus; magnum hodiè literarum decus et incrementum*; and *Princeps criticorum* is a term frequently applied to him by foreign lips. His emendations, indeed, are

\* Upon this passage Dr. Warburton observes, This great man, with all his faults, deserved to be put into better company. The following words of Cicero describe him not amiss: *Habuit à naturæ genus quoddam acuminis, quod etiam arte limaverat, quod erat in reprehendendis verbis versatum et solers: sed sæpè stomachosum, nunquam frigidum, interdum etiam facetum.* But Warburton, with all his learning, was no match for Bentley. In his Correspondence with Hurd he repeats, what he had already asserted in a note to the third section of the second book of his *Divine Legation*, that ‘the only thing the Oxford people hit off was, his plagiarism from Vizzanius; which yet he repelled in such a manner, as to deter them from supporting their charge, though from that very manner Warburton inferred his consciousness of guilt.’ By the brevity of his statement, however, in the note above referred to, he affected to be merciful to Bentley; and even Hare (he says) who had at first thought him too hard upon the memory of his old acquaintance, confessed on hearing the particulars, that ‘he had indeed spared him.’ The whole of this charge is triumphantly repelled by a paper in the Supplement to the *Classical Journal*, No. xviii. He could not, in fact, as alleged by the Oxford cabal, and inferred by Warburton, have quoted his Jamblichus from Vizzanius; for the passage is not in Vizzanius, but merely a reference to it.

often so exquisitely happy, and so peculiarly appropriate to the stile and manner of his author, that we cannot help admiring their ingenuity, however from their wanting the sanction of MSS. we may doubt their justness. His chief error was, that he estimated a dextrous conjecture, as if it had been founded upon incontrovertible proof, and thus enlarged the boundaries of verbal criticism beyond all reasonable measure; forgetting that many imperfections are to be found in the most correct of modern poets, and therefore probably deformed, in at least an equal degree, the writings of antiquity. His own favourite Horace, in fact, had told him, that the very greatest of them all sometimes ‘noddod.’

But ‘no man could have created so many enemies, it will be said, without great provocation.’ This perhaps consisted in a certain haughty and repulsive address, or in his coarse and unaccommodating manners, which out of the circle of his own family were undoubtedly of a kind to give frequent offence. Through his lofty estimate of himself, also, he spoke of his own character and that of others with uncommon freedom. He once asserted, as we learn from Whiston, that ‘when he himself should be dead, Wasse would be the most learned man in England.’\* He used to take off his hat to the younger students, but would never do it to the fellows of his college; ob-

● In this proud self-estimate, Bentley does not stand alone: *Messieurs Gaulmin, Saumaise, et Maussac se rencontrans un jour à la Bibliothèque Royale, le premier dit aux deux autres, ‘Je pense que nous pourrions bien tous trois tenir tête à tous les savans de l’Europe.’ A quoi M. de Saumaise répondit, ‘Joignez à tout ce qu’il y a de savans au monde, et vous et M. de Maussac, je vous tiendrai tête moi seul.’*

serving, that ‘the young ones might come to something, but for the others, they could never be good for any thing.’

Of his philological powers, his Letter on Hesychius, in Alberti's edition, is a striking monument. It is not perhaps generally known, that to his earnest entreaties and zealous patronage the public owe the improvements in the second edition of Newton's ‘*Principia*,’ printed at Cambridge in 1713. *Is enim* (says Professor Cotes, at the end of his preface to that work) *cùm à longo tempore celeberrimi auctoris amicitia intimâ\* frueretur (quâ etiam apud posteros censerî non minoris æstimat quàm propriis scriptis, quæ literato orbi in deliciis sunt, inclarescere) amici simul famæ et scientiarum incremento consuluit. Itaque, cùm exemplaria prioris editionis rarissima admodum et immani pretio cõemenda superessent, suasit ille crebris efflagitationibus et tantum non objurgando perpulit denique virum præstantissimum, nec modestiâ minus quàm eruditione summâ insignem, ut novam hanc operis editionem per omnia elimatam denuò & egregiis insuper accessionibus ditatam, suis sumptibus et auspiciis prodire pateretur.*

\* The Epitaph, which he wrote upon Sir Isaac Newton, is here subjoined:

*Hic quiescunt  
ossa et pulvis  
ISAACI NEWTONI.  
Si quæris quis et qualis ille fuerit,  
abi:  
Qui ex ipso nomine reliqua novisti,  
Siste paulisper,  
Et mortale illud Philosophiæ Numen  
Gratâ mente venerare.*

His valuable inedited Critical Correspondence was sumptuously printed in 1807 by the Rev. Dr. Charles Burney, with most honourable munificence, for private distribution, under the title of '*R. Bentley et Doctorum Virorum Epistolæ, partim mutæ. Accedit Richardi Dawesii ad Joannem Taylorum Epistola singularis.*' In this interesting volume, Grævius is Bentley's principal correspondent.

Before Mr. Cumberland's death he disposed of several volumes of Greek and Latin classics, which had belonged to his grandfather, and contained his MSS. notes upon their margins. These, including a copy of his Aristophanes, and a collation of two ancient MSS. of Aulus Gellius, to the number of eighty four volumes, were purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum for 400/., and form a valuable though small portion of that inestimable collection.

#### EXTRACTS.

*From the 'Remarks upon Collins on Freethinking.'*

'YES! but poor Dr. Mill has still more to answer for, and meets with a sorry recompence for his long labour of thirty years. For if we are to believe not only this wise author, but a wiser Doctor of your own, he was labouring all that while to prove the text of Scripture precarious; having scraped together such an immense collection of various readings, as amount in the whole, by a late author's computation, to above thirty thousand. Now this is a matter of some consequence, and will well deserve a few reflexions:

‘I am forced to confess with grief, that several well-meaning priests, of greater zeal than knowledge, have often by their own false alarms and panics both frightened others of their own side, and given advantage to their enemies. What an uproar once was there, as if all were ruined and undone, when Capellus wrote one book against the antiquity of the Hebrew points, and another for various lections in the Hebrew text itself? And yet time and experience has cured them of those imaginary fears; and the great author in his grave has now that honour universally, which the few only of his own age paid him, when alive.

‘The case is, and will be, the same with your learned countryman Dr. Mill; whose friendship, while I staid at Oxford, and memory will be ever dear to me. For what is it, that your Whitbyus so inveighs and exclaims at? “The Doctor’s labours,” says he, “make the whole text precarious; and expose both the reformation to the Papists, and religion itself to the Atheists.” God forbid! we will still hope better things. For, surely, those various readings existed before in the several exemplars; Dr. Mill did not make and coin them, he only exhibited them to our view. If religion therefore was true before, though such various readings were in being, it will be as true, and consequently as safe still, though every body sees them. Depend upon it; no truth, no matter of fact fairly laid open, can ever subvert true religion.

‘The thirty thousand various lections are allowed, then, and confessed, and, if more copies yet are collated, the sum will still mount higher. And what is the inference from this? Why, one Gregory, here



quoted, infers "That no profane author whatever has suffered so much by the hand of time as the New Testament has done." Now if this shall be found utterly false, and if the scriptural text has no more variations than what must necessarily have happened from the nature of things, and what are common and in equal proportion in all classics whatever, I hope this panic will be removed, and the text be thought as firm as before.

‘ If there had been but one Manuscript of the Greek Testament at the restoration of learning about two centuries ago, then we had had no various readings at all. And would the text be in a better condition then, than now we have thirty thousand? So far from that, that in the best single copy extant we should have had hundreds of faults, and some omissions irreparable: beside that the suspicions of fraud and foul play would have been increased immensely.

‘ It is good, therefore, you will allow, to have more anchors than one; and another MS. to join with the first would give more authority, as well as security. Now choose that second where you will, there shall be a thousand variations from the first, and yet half or more of the faults shall still remain in them both.

‘ A third therefore, and so a fourth, and still on, are desirable; that, by a joint and mutual help, all the faults may be amended: some copy preserving the true reading in one place, and some in another. And yet the more copies you call to assistance, the more do the various readings multiply upon you; every copy having it's peculiar slips, though in a principal passage or two it do singular service. And this is fact, not only in the New Testament, but in all ancient books whatever.

‘ It is a good Providence and a great blessing, that so many Manuscripts of the New Testament are still among us; some procured from Egypt, others from Asia, others found in the Western Churches. For the very distances of places, as well as numbers of the books, demonstrate that there could be no collusion, no altering nor interpolating one copy by another, nor all by any of them.

‘ In profane authors (as they are called) whereof one MS. only had the luck to be preserved, as Velleius Paterculus among the Latins and Hesychius among the Greeks, the faults of the scribes are found so numerous, and the defects so beyond all redress, notwithstanding the pains of the learnedest and acutest critics for two whole centuries, those books still are and are like to continue a mere heap of errors. On the contrary, where the copies of any author are numerous, though the various readings always increase in proportion, there the text by an accurate collation of them made by skilful and judicious hands is ever the more correct, and comes nearer to the true words of the author.

‘ Were the very originals of ancient books still in being, those alone would supersede the use of all other copies: but since that was impossible from the nature of things, since time and casualties must consume and devour all, the subsidiary help is from the various transcripts conveyed down to us, when examined and compared together.

‘ Terence is now in one of the best conditions of any of the classic writers. The oldest and best copy of him is now in the Vatican Library, which comes nearest to the poet’s own hand: but even that has hundreds of errors, most of which may be

mended out of other exemplars, that are otherwise more recent and of inferior value. I myself have collated several, and do affirm that I have seen twenty thousand various lections in that little author, not nearly so big as the whole New Testament; and am morally sure, that if half the number of Manuscripts were collated for Terence with that niceness and minuteness which has been used in twice as many for the New Testament, the number of the variations would amount to above fifty thousand.

‘ In the Manuscripts of the New Testament, the variations have been noted with a religious, not to say superstitious, exactness. Every difference in spelling, in the smallest particle or article of speech, in the very order or collocation of words without real change, has been studiously registered. Nor has the text only been ransacked, but all the Ancient Versions, the Latin Vulgate, Italic, Syriac, Æthiopic, Arabic, Coptic, Armenian, Gothic, and Saxon; nor these only, but all the dispersed citations of the Greek and Latin Fathers in a course of five hundred years. What wonder then, if with all this scrupulous search in every hole and corner, the varieties rise to thirty thousand; when in all ancient books of the same bulk, whereof the MSS. are numerous, the variations are as many or more; and yet no versions to swell the reckoning?

‘ The editors of profane authors do not use to trouble their readers, or risk their own reputation, by an useless list of every small slip committed by a lazy or ignorant scribe. What is thought commendable in an edition of Scripture, and has the name of fairness and fidelity, would in them be deemed im-

pertinence and trifling. Hence the reader not versed in ancient MSS. is deceived into an opinion, that there were no more variations in the copies, than what the editor has communicated. Whereas, if the like scrupulousness was observed in registering the smallest changes in profane authors, as is allowed, nay required in sacred, the now formidable number of thirty thousand would appear a very trifle.

‘ It is manifest, that books in verse are not nearly so obnoxious to variations as those in prose: the transcriber, if he is not wholly ignorant and stupid, being guided by the measures, and hindered from such alterations, as do not fall in with the laws of numbers. And yet, even in poets, the variations are so very many, as can hardly be conceived without use and experience. In the late edition of *Tibullus* by the learned Mr. Broukhuse, you have a register of various lections in the close of that book; where you may see, at the first view, that they are as many as the lines. The same is visible in *Plautus* set out by *Paræus*. I myself, during my travels, have had the opportunity to examine several MSS. of the poet *Manilius*; and can assure you, that the variations I have met with are twice as many as all the lines of the book. Our discourser here has quoted nine verses out of it, p. 151, in which, though one of the easiest places, I can show him fourteen various lections. Add likewise, that the MSS. here used were few in comparison; and then do you imagine, what the lections would amount to, if ten times as many (the case of Dr. Mill) were accurately examined. And yet in these and all other books the text is not made more precarious on that account, but more certain and authentic. So that if I may advise you, when

you hear more of this scarecrow of thirty thousand, be neither astonished at the sum, nor in any pain for the text.

‘ It is plain to me that your learned Whitbyus, in his invective against my dead friend, was suddenly surprised with a panic; and, under his deep concern for the text, did not reflect at all what that word really means. The present text was first settled almost two hundred years ago out of several MSS. by Robert Stephens, a printer and bookseller at Paris; whose beautiful and (generally speaking) accurate edition has been ever since counted the standard, and followed by all the rest. Now this specific text in your Doctor’s notion seems taken for the Sacred Original in every word and syllable; and, if the conceit is but spread and propagated, within a few years that printer’s infallibility will be as zealously maintained as an Evangelist’s or Apostle’s.

‘ Dr. Mill, were he alive, would confess to your Doctor, that this text fixed by a printer is sometimes by the various readings rendered uncertain, nay, is proved certainly wrong. But then he would subjoin, that the real text of the Sacred Writers does not now (since the originals have been so long lost) lie in any single MS. or edition, but is dispersed in them all. It is competently exact indeed, even in the worst MS. now extant: nor is one article of faith, or moral precept, either perverted or lost in them; choose as awkwardly as you can, choose the worst by design out of the whole lump of readings. But the lesser matters of diction, and among several synonymous expressions the very words of the writer, must be found out by the same industry and sagacity that is used in other books; must not be risked upon the

credit of any particular MS. or edition, but he sought, acknowledged, and challenged wherever they are met with.'

*And again, from the Second Part :*

' While I was looking on his passage of Zosimus (whom, out of his profound skill in Greek, he twice writes Zozimus) I had like to have dropt a memorable paragraph which shows his great affection to your clergy. He complains of " the great charge of maintaining such numbers of ecclesiastics, as a great evil to society, and a burthen never felt on any other occasion." Now how shall I accost him ; as a grand historian, or shrewd politician ? For I know he is above the low considerations of divine worship, truth, piety, salvation, and immortality. But what news does he tell us ? That the supporting of priests is a burthen unknown before Christianity ? Had he read over even those authors alone, with whose twice-borrowed scraps he has filled his margin, he would have learnt that both in Greece and Italy, before our Saviour's birth, the Heathen priests were more in number, higher in dignity, and better provided with endowments, salaries, and immunities, than now you are in England. The like was before in Egypt, and in every other country, where humanity and letters had any footing. Many of his authors, whom he cites as free-thinkers, were priests themselves ; Josephus, Plutarch, Cato, Cicero, &c. and the last-named was made so after his consulate, the highest post of honour and power then in the universe : nay (to make our author quite lay him aside for ever) he had the indelible character too ; for, being once made a priest, a priest he was to be for life. But what an

adversary am I writing against, wholly ignorant of common history? And his politics are as low too, that would extirpate the whole order of your Clergy: and so bring your country to the ignorance of the savages; to a worse condition than your old ancestors were in, while they had their Bards and their Druids. For it ever was and ever will be true, in all nations, under all manners and customs, ‘No priesthood, no letters, no humanity;’ and reciprocally again, ‘society, laws, government, learning, a priesthood.’ What then would our thoughtless thinker be at? Sink the order of the present Clergy to save charges to the public, and pay the same or double to maintain as many for Epicurus, or Jupiter, or Baal: for some order of priests there will be. Though even take him in his free-thinking capacity, he can never conceive nor wish a priesthood either quieter for him, or cheaper, than that of the present Church of England. Of your quietness himself is a convincing proof, who has written this outrageous book, and has met with no punishment nor prosecution. And for the cheapness, that appeared lately in one of your parliaments, when the accounts exhibited showed that six thousand of your clergy, the greater part of your whole number, had at a middle rate one with another not fifty pounds a year! A poor emolument for so long, so laborious, so expensive an education, as must qualify them for Holy Orders. While I resided at Oxford, and saw such a conflux of youth to their annual admissions, I have often studied and admired, why their parents would under such mean encouragements design their sons for the church; and those the most towardly and capable and select geniuses among their children, who must needs have emerged in a secular life. I

congratulated, indeed, the felicity of your establishment, which attracted the choice youth of your nation for such very low pay; but my wonder was at the parents, who generally have interest, maintenance, and wealth the first thing in their view. Till at last one of your state-lotteries ceased my astonishment. For as in that, a few glittering prizes, one thousand, five thousand, ten thousand pounds among an infinity of blanks drew troops of adventurers, who if the whole fund had been equally ticketed, would never have come in; so a few shining dignities in your church, prebends, deaneries, bishoprics are the pious fraud, that induces and decoys the parents to risk their child's fortune in it. Every one hopes his own will get some great prize in the church, and never reflects on the thousands of blanks in poor country-livings. And if a foreigner may tell you his mind, from what he sees at home, it is this part of your establishment that makes your Clergy excel ours. Do but once level all your preferments, and you will soon be as level in your learning. For, instead of the flower of the English youth, you will have *only* the refuse sent to your academies; and those, too, cramped and crippled in their studies for want of aim and emulation. So that if your free-thinkers had any politics, instead of suppressing your whole order, they should make you all alike; or, if that cannot be done, make your preferments a very lottery in the whole similitude. Let your church-dignities be pure chance-prizes, without regard to abilities, or morals, or letters: as a journeyman (I think) in that state-lottery was the favourite child of fortune.'



## On the Death of Prince George of Denmark.

## AD REGINAM.

' *ACCIPERE communis solatia publica luctus,*  
*ANNA, nec alloquiis dulcibus obde fores.*  
*Namque ut Marlburii percussit nuncius aures,*  
*Dum tibi per Flandras fulminat ense plagas,*  
*Oppeliſſe tuæ, Regina, animæque torique*  
*Participem, ac morbo succubuisse gravi:*  
 " *Non," ait, "ardentem lacrymis restinguere curam*  
*"Nunc opus, aut querulis perdere verba modis.*  
 " *Pro lacrymis, reſſuant hostili sanguine rivi:*  
*"Pro questu reboent tympana mixta tubis."*  
*Dixit: et attoniti dirâ formidine Galli*  
*Bruxellis trepidæ terga dedêre fugæ;*  
*Objectoque alii tentantes fulmine Martem*  
*De Scaldi in Stygias præcipitantur aquas.'*

## ALLOCUTIO AD SEPULCRUM.

' *Delubra regum, prisca Manium domus,*  
*Suprema Britonum principum palatia,*  
*Honore dio plena, plena numine;*  
*Laxate claustra, ferreosque liminis*  
*Rescrate postes: GEORGII Magni sacra*  
*Portatur ad vos lugubri pompâ cinis,*  
*Uxoris ANNÆ atque ANGLIÆ lacrymis madens.*  
*Eheu! quis hostis Gallus, aut quis impie*  
*Romæ tyrannus coccinatus non tuo*

\* This will remind some readers of the Marquis of Montrose's lines, inscribed with the point of his sword to the memory of Charles I.:

' Great, Good, and Just, could I but rate  
 My griefs and thy too rigid fate,  
 I'd weep the world to such a strain,  
 That it should deluge once again.  
 But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies  
 More from Briareus' hands than Argus' eyes,  
 I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet-sounds,  
 And write thy epitaph in blood and wounds.'

*Dolore doleat, ANNA, non flenti affleat?  
 Huic ô quietus intimis penetralibus  
 Parate sedes; quâ (nefas) tot liberûm  
 Jacent acerbo rapta falo corpora:  
 Præsertim ubi, usque vere perpetuo virens  
 Cari GLOVERNI floret urna. Hic ponite:  
 Hic pænè redeat vivus ossibus calor,  
 Sensuque tacito pulvis ipse gaudeat.\**

AD NOBILISSIMUM CAROLUM HALIFAXIÆ COMITEM.\*

*‘CAROLE, si tibi adhuc collegi cura vetusti,  
 Quod tamen assiduè nascitur usque novum;  
 Si placuit nostro nitidus jam pumice Flaccus,  
 Quodque sibi vates dixerat “usque recens;”  
 Gratia si veteris tibi pectore vivit amici—  
 Unam fer multis officiosus opem:  
 Sume, precor, citharam nimium nimiumque tacentem,  
 Verbaque cum plectro fortia jange gravi.  
 Effer, age, Heroem, stellantique insere Olympo;  
 Dircausque iterum nubila tranet olor.  
 Nos etenim viles, corvi picæque, poetæ  
 Vix pennas madidâ (turpe) levamus humo.’*

#### ENGLISH VERSES: †

In answer to Titley’s Imit. of Horace, Od. III. 2.

‘He that would great in science grow,’ &c.

‘Who strives to mount Parnassus’ hill,  
 And thence poetic laurels bring,  
 Must first acquire due force and skill,  
 Must fly with swan’s or eagle’s wing.

\* Who, in the early part of his life, had been Fellow of College, Cambridge.

† These verses were so much admired by Johnson, that he once repeated them from memory. Truth and vigour, in this instance, give a value to poetry, which it would not receive from elegance and fancy.

Who Nature's treasures would explore,  
Her mysteries and arcana know,  
Must high as lofty Newton soar,  
Must stoop as delving Woodward low.

Who studies ancient laws and rites,  
Tongues, arts, and arms, and history,  
Must drudge like Selden days and nights,  
And in the endless labour die.

Who travels in religious jars,  
Truth mix'd with error, shade with rays,  
Like Whiston wanting pyx or stars,  
In ocean wide or sinks or strays.

But grant, our hero's hope long toil  
And comprehensive genius crown—  
All sciences, all arts his spoil—  
Yet what reward, or what renown?

Envy, innate in vulgar souls,  
Envy steps in, and stops his rise;  
Envy with poison'd tarnish fouls  
His lustre, and his worth decries.

He lives inglorious, or in want,  
To college and old books confined:  
Instead of learn'd he's call'd pedant;  
Dunces advanced, he's left behind—

Yet left content, a genuine Stoic he,  
Great without patron, rich without South Sea

## ALEXANDER POPE.

[1688—1744.]

**A**ALEXANDER POPE, the ‘Poet of Reason’ and the ‘Prince of Rhyme,’ was born in London June 8, 1688. For an account of his family, we are indebted to the satires written against him, which drew from him in answer the following short genealogy:

Alexander Pope, his father, was of a gentleman’s family in Oxfordshire; the head of which was the Earl of Downe in Ireland, whose sole heiress married the Earl of Lindsey. His mother was Editha, the daughter of William Turner, Esq. of York. She had three brothers; one of whom was killed, another died in the service of King Charles I., and the eldest following his fortune, and becoming a general officer in Spain, left her what estate remained after the sequestrations and forfeitures of her family, which (as well as that of her husband) was of the Romish religion.

He was taught to read at a very early age by an aunt, and he acquired for himself the art of writing, by copying printed books with great exactness. At eight years of age he was put under the tuition of one Taverner, a Roman Catholic priest, who in-

structed him in the rudiments of the Latin and Greek tongues. These elements of classical literature he imbibed with the utmost facility, and on first seeing the poets he discovered at once both the peculiar bent of his inclination, and the excellency of his genius.

About this time, accidentally meeting with Ogilby's translation of Homer, he was so much struck with the force of the story that, notwithstanding the insipidity of the versification, it became his favourite book. The Ovid of Sandys fell next in his way; and it is said, that from the delight these poor versions gave him, 'he spoke of the latter in particular with pleasure and praise all his life afterward.'

From his private tutor he was sent to a Popish seminary at Twyford near Winchester, whence he was removed to a school at Hyde Park Corner.

He was now about ten years old, and being carried sometimes to the play-house, was induced by the sight of theatrical representations to work the chief events of Homer into a kind of play, made <sup>up</sup> of a number of speeches from Ogilby's translation connected by verses of his own. This piece he persuaded the upper boys to act; the master's gardener representing the character of Ajax, and the whole company attiring themselves after the prints of his favourite author.

In the mean time, he was so unfortunate as to lose, under his two last teachers, what he had acquired from the first. In this condition, at twelve years of age, he retired with his parents to Binfield in Windsor Forest, where his father had provided a convenient residence; and was there put, it is said, under another priest for a few months, but with little

advantage : upon which, he resolved to become his own master. This country-retreat suited his melancholy and reflective temper ; and he now wrote the ‘ Ode on Solitude,’ his first-printed poem, of which the principal characteristics are correct versification and neat expression. Here, too, he sat down to peruse the writings of Waller, Spenser, and Dryden ; but on the first view of Dryden he abandoned the rest, and was never easy, indeed, till he had persuaded a friend to take him to a coffee-house frequented by that illustrious author.\* His works he placed before his eyes, as a model ; and copying not only his harmonious numbers but even the very turns of his periods, was eventually enabled to give a peculiar sweetness and harmony to English rhyme, which it would indeed be idle to expect to see surpassed.

His poetical reading was always accompanied with attempts at imitation, or translation. In the latter, he quickly attained singular eminence ; his versions of the first book of the *Thebais* of Statius, and of the epistle of Sappho to Phaon, and Dryope and Pomona from Ovid made at the age of fourteen, are unrivalled. His primary object was, undoubtedly, to be a poet ; and with this his father accidentally concurred, by obliging him frequently to revise his performances ; after which he would say, “ These are good rhymes.”

\* This must have been not long before Dryden’s death, which happened in 1701 ; so that Pope was personally unknown to him, a misfortune which he laments in the pathetic words, “ *Virgilium tantùm vidi.*” He never mentioned him afterward, without a kind of rapturous veneration. Who does not wish, that Dryden could have known the value of the homage thus paid to him ?

Binfield being near Easthamstead, where Sir William Trumbull then resided, he was introduced to the acquaintance of that gentleman; who struck with admiration of his genius, his good sense, and his correct and regular manners, readily admitted him to a share of his friendship.

In the mean time, the young bard was constantly employed in the improving of his poetical talents. At fourteen, he had composed several elegant pieces; and at fifteen he had made himself familiar to a certain extent with the two learned languages, to which he soon afterward added French and Italian.

Some seeds of vanity, it has been observed, are almost necessary ingredients in the composition of a poet. Pope now thought himself capable of undertaking an epic poem. In this spirit he set about writing his, ‘*Alcander*.’ He had either the sense however, or the modesty, to keep it in his study till it was burnt by the advice of Atterbury; and in his riper years he spoke of it with a degree of ingenuousness, which more than atoned for the forwardness and the failure of the attempt.\* “I confess,” says he, “there was a time, when I was in love with myself; and my first productions were the children of self-love upon innocence. I had made an epic poem, and panegyrics upon all the princes; and I thought myself the greatest genius that ever was. I cannot but regret these delightful visions of my childhood, which, like the fine colours we see when our eyes are shut, are vanished for ever.” He essayed likewise a comedy, upon a subject not now known, and a

\* Some of it’s extravagances are produced, in the ‘*Art of Singing in Poetry*,’ under the signature of ‘*Anonymous*.’

tragedy founded on the legend of St. Genevieve: but he destroyed them with most of his puerile productions. His version of Cicero's 'Cato Major' appears to have shared the same fate.

He was, also, tempted by Dryden's 'Fables' to try his skill in modernising from Chaucer his 'January and May,' and the 'Prologue of the Wife of Bath;' and about the same time, likewise, he professed to have written his poem on 'Silence,' in imitation of Rochester's 'Nothing.' He had now formed his versification, assisted by the rich melodies of Dryden; and the smoothness of his numbers surpassed the original.

In the following year, 1704, he entered upon a task more suited to his age. This was his 'Pastorals,'\* which procured for him the acquaintance of some of the most eminent wits of the time. He communicated them first to Mr. Wycherley, who was highly pleased with them; and he subsequently sent a copy to Mr. Walsh,† who observing that his chief talent lay not so much in striking out new thoughts of his own, as improving those which he borrowed from the ancients, suggested to him, that 'there was

\* First printed, in a volume of Tonson's Miscellanies, in 1709. Melodiously tuneful, and brilliantly polished, these compositions display a great want of original observation, and much puerile artificialness of sentiment. In the same volume appeared Ambrose Philips' 'Pastorals,' which were commended in the Spectator to a degree exciting Pope's very irritable jealousy. He printed in the Guardian, No. 40, in consequence, an ironical comparison of the rival compositions; and incited Gay to write his 'Shepherd's Week' in mockery of Philips, who never forgave him.

† By Dryden pronounced 'the best English Critic of his time.'



one way left open for him in which to outstrip his predecessors, and that was correctness.' This advice was not lost: Pope received it with gratitude, and observed it with punctuality.\*

\* The following letter to this friendly Aristarchus is inserted, as a specimen :

Oct. 22, 1706.

"After the thoughts I have already sent you on the subject of English versification, you desire my opinion as to some farther particulars. There are indeed certain niceties, which though not much observed even by correct versifiers, I cannot but think deserve to be better regarded.

1. It is not enough that nothing offends the ear, but a good poet will adapt the very sounds, as well as words, to the thing he treats of. So that there is (if one may express it so) a stile of sound: as in describing a gliding stream, the numbers shall run easy and flowing; in describing a rough torrent or deluge, sonorous and swelling; and so of the rest. This is evident every where in Homer and Virgil, and no where else, that I know of, to any observable degree. The following examples will make this plain, which I have taken from Vida :

*Molle viam tacito lapsu per lævia radit.*

*Incedit tardo molimine subsidendo.*

*Luctantes ventos, tempestatesque sonoras.*

*Immenso cùm præcipitans ruit oceano Nox.*

——— *Telum imbelle sine ictu*

*Conjicit.*

*Tolle moras; cape saxa manu, cape robora, pastor.*

*Ferte citi flammæ, date tela, repellite pestem.*

This, I think, is what very few observe in practice, and is undoubtedly of wonderful force in imprinting the image on the reader: we have one excellent example of it in our language, Mr. Dryden's Ode on St. Cæcilia's Day, entitled 'Alexander's Feast.'

2. Every nice ear must (I believe) have observed, that in any smooth English verse of ten syllables, there is naturally a pause at the fourth, fifth, or sixth syllable. It is upon these the ear rests, and upon the judicious change and management of which depends the variety of versification. For example,

This year, also, he wrote the first part of his  
'Windsor Forest;' though the whole was not pub-

At the fifth,

Where'er thy navy | spreads her canvass wings.

At the fourth,

Homage to thee | and peace to all she brings.

At the sixth,

Like tracts of leverets | in morning snow.

'Now I fancy, that to preserve an exact harmony and variety, the pause at the fourth or sixth should not be continued above three lines together, without the interposition of another; else it will be apt to weary the ear with one continued tone, at least it does mine: that at the fifth runs quicker, and carries not quite so dead a weight, so tires not so much, though it be continued longer.

3. Another nicety is in relation to expletives, whether words or syllables, which are made use of purely to supply a vacancy. *Do* before verbs plural is absolutely such; and it is not improbable but future refiners may explode *did* and *does* in the same manner, which are almost always used for the sake of rhyme. The same cause has occasioned the promiscuous use of *you* and *thou* to the same person, which can never sound so graceful as either one or the other.

4. I would also object to the irruption of Alexandrine verses, of twelve syllables; which I think, should never be allowed, but when some remarkable beauty or propriety in them atones for the liberty: Mr. Dryden has been too free of these, especially in his latter works. I am of the same opinion, as to triple rhymes.

5. I could equally object to the repetition of the same rhymes within four or six lines of each other, as tiresome to the ear through their monotony.

6. Monosyllable lines, unless very artfully managed, are stiff; or languishing; but may be beautiful to express melancholy, slowness, or labour.

7. To come to the hiatus, or gap between two words, which is caused by two vowels opening on each other, upon which you desire me to be particular; I think the rule in this case is either to use the cæsura, or admit the hiatus, just as the ear is least shocked by either: for the cæsura sometimes offends the ear

lished till 1710, when it appeared with a dedication to Lord Lansdowne, whom he mentions as one of his earliest acquaintance.\*

more than the hiatus itself, and our language is naturally overcharged with consonants: as for example, if in this verse,

The old have interest ever in their eye;

we shall say, to avoid the hiatus,

But th' old have interest.

The hiatus, which has the worst effect, is when one word ends with the same vowel that begins the following; and next to this, those vowels whose sounds come nearest each other, are most to be avoided. O, A, or U, will bear a more full and graceful sound than E, I, or Y. I know, some people will think these observations trivial, and therefore I am glad to corroborate them by some great authorities, which I have met with in Tully and Quintilian. In the fourth book of Rhetoric to Herennius, are these words: *Fugiemus crebras vocalium concussionones, quæ vastam atque hiantem reddunt orationem; ut hoc est, Bacca ceneæ amœnissimæ impendebant.* And Quintilian, ix. 4. *Vocalium concursus cùm accidit, hiat et intersistit et quasi laborat oratio. Pessimè longæ, quæ easdem inter se literas committunt, sonabunt: præcipuus tamen erit hiatus carum, quæ cavo aut patulo ore efferruntur. E plenior litera est, I angustior.* But he goes on to reprove the excess, on the other hand, of being too solicitous in this matter, and says admirably, *Nescio an negligentia in hoc, an sollicitudo sit pejor.* So, likewise, Tully (Orat. ad Brut.) *Theopompum reprehendunt, quòd eas literas tanto opere fugerit, etsi idem magister ejus Socrates:* which last author, as Turnebus on Quintilian observes, has hardly one hiatus in all his works. Quintilian tells us, that Tully and Demosthenes did not much observe this nicety, though Tully himself says in his Orator, *Crebra ista vocum concursio, quam magnâ ex parte vitiosam fugit Demosthenes.* If I am not mistaken, Malherbe of all the moderns has been the most scrupulous in this point; and I think Menage in his observations upon him says, ‘he has not one in his poems.’ To conclude, I believe the hiatus should be avoided with more care in poetry than in oratory; and I would constantly try to prevent it, unless where the cutting it off is more prejudicial to the sound than the hiatus itself. I am, &c.”

\* To this illustrious name he adds those of Bolingbroke, Con-

No part of his life is more interesting than that of his conduct in cultivating friendships, especially with his brother-poets. At the age of eighteen, he had risen so high in the esteem of Wycherley, that he thought him capable of preparing a new edition of his poems, and Pope executed the task with equal freedom and propriety. But the faults proved too numerous for the self-love of their author. With the irritability of a poet, and the jealousy of an old man, he construed the plain-dealing of his youthful correction into want of respect, and dropped not only the design of publishing, but all intercourse also with the intended editor.

This ungenerous treatment was resented by Pope; and though Wycherley was subsequently prevailed upon, through the mediation of a common friend, to resume the correspondence, it never proceeded farther than bare complaisance. Some time however after the death of the latter, his poems being republished by a mercenary hand in 1728, Pope in the following year printed several letters, which had passed between them, in vindication of Wycherley's reputation.

Throughout the whole indeed of this trying affair, his conduct was greatly above his years; but, young as he was, his talents were now beginning to ripen into full maturity. This appeared conspicuously in his 'Essay on Criticism;' which, though originally written before he was twenty years of age, placed him in the first rank of English poets.\* The

grave, Garth, Swift, Atterbury, Talbot, Somers, and Sheffield, as persons with whom he was not only conversant, but popular, at sixteen or seventeen years of age!

\* It was translated into French by Hamilton, by Robotham,

public were naturally amazed to find in one so young such a knowledge of the world, combined with so

and by the Abbé Resnel; and into Latin by Kirkpatrick, the author of the 'Sea-Piece,' and by Smart.

For the sake of subjoining an Extract or two from this poem, with a specimen of Smart's translation, I attach the character of his above-named useful ally Mr. Walsh, as drawn near it's conclusion :

' Such late was Walsh, the Muse's judge and friend,  
Who justly knew to blame or to commend;  
To failings mild, but zealous for desert:  
The clearest head, and the sincerest heart.  
This humble praise, lamented shade! receive:  
This praise, at least, a grateful Muse may give;  
The Muse, whose early voice you taught to sing,  
Prescribed her flights, and pruned her tender wing,' &c.

In an earlier part of the work, with a happy strain of exemplification, he had spoken of such as

— ' equal syllables alone require,  
Though oft the ear the open vowels tire.  
While expletives their feeble aid do join,  
And ten low words oft creep in one dull line;  
While they ring round the same unvaried chimes,  
With sure return of still expected rhymes.  
Where'er you find the "the cooling western breeze,"  
In the next line it whispers "through the trees:"  
If crystal streams "with pleasing murmurs creep,"  
The reader's threaten'd, not in vain, with "sleep."  
Then at the last, and only couplet fraught  
With some unmeaning thing they call 'a thought,'  
A needless Alexandrine ends the song,  
That like a wounded snake drags it's slow length along.'

\* \* \* \* \*

' 'Tis not enough no harshness gives offence;  
The sound must seem an echo to the sense.  
Soft is the strain when Zephyr gently blows,  
And the smooth stream in smoother numbers flows;  
But when loud billows lash the sounding shore,  
The hoarse rough verse should like the torrent roar.

much maturity of judgement, extent of reading, and

When Ajax strives some rock's vast weight to throw,  
The line too labours, and the words move slow :  
Not so, when swift Camilla scours the plain,  
Flees o'er the unbending corn, and skims along the main.

Hear how Timotheus' \* various lays surprise,  
And bid alternate passions fall and rise :  
While, at each change, the son of Lybian Jove  
Now burns with glory, and then melts with love :  
Now fierce his eyes with sparkling fury glow,  
Now sighs steal out and tears begin to flow !  
Persians and Greeks like turns of nature found,  
And the world's victor stood subdued by sound.'

*His solùm criticis semper par syllaba cordi est,  
Vasta etsi usque omnis pateat vocalis hiatus :  
Expletivæque sæpè suas quoque suppetias dent,  
Ac versum unum oncret levium heu ! decas en ! pigra vocum ;  
Dum non mutato resonant malè cymbala plinctu,  
Atque augur miser usque scio, quid deinde sequatur.  
Quæcunque aspirat clementior aura Favoni,  
Mox (nullus dubito) graciles vibrantur aristæ :  
Rivulus ut molli serpit per lævia lapsu,  
Lector, non temerè expectes post murmura somnos.  
Tum demum, quâ latè extremum ad distichon ipsa,  
Magnificum sine mente nihil, SENTENTIA splendet,  
Segnis Hypermeter, audin ? adest et claudicat, instar  
Anguis saucia terga trahentis, prorepentisque.  
Hi, &c.                   \*                   \*                   \*                   \**

*Non solùm asperitas teneras cave verberet aures,  
Sed quæque expressa tuæ sit mentis imago.  
Lenè edai Zephyrus suspiria blanda, politis  
Lævius in numeris labatur læve fluentum :  
At reboat, furit, æstuat æmula Musa, sonoris  
Littoribus cùm rauca horrendùm impingitur unda.  
Quando est saxum Ajax vastâ vi volvere adortus,  
Tardè incedat versus, multum perque laborem :*

\* See Dryden's 'Alexander's Feast, or the Power of Music.'

felicity of illustration, as are there displayed ; \* and critics exercised their skill in endeavouring to account for it. The greatest geniuses in painting, as well as in poetry, they observed, seldom produced any of their master-pieces before the age of thirty ; and that Mr. Pope's genius displayed itself at an earlier period was owing, it was suggested, to a happy conjunction of circumstances. From the debaucheries of women and wine, the too frequent bane of hopeful youth,

*Non ita sive Camilla citò salis æquora rasis,  
Sive levis levitèrque terit neque flectit aristas.  
Audin? Timothei cœlestia carmina, menti  
Dulcibus alloquîs varios suadentia motus!  
Audin? ut alternis Lybici Jovis inclÿta proles  
Nunc ardet famam, solos nunc spirat amores;  
Lumina nunc vivis radiantia volvere flammis;  
Mox furtim suspiria, mox effundere fletum!  
Dum Persæ Græcique pares sentire tumultus  
Discunt, victricemque lyram rex orbis adorat.*

Again :

‘ But see each Muse in Leo’s golden days  
Starts from her trance, and trims her wither’d bays !  
Rome’s ancient genius o’er it’s ruins spread,  
Shakes off the dust, and rears his reverend head.  
Then Sculpture and her Sister Arts revive,  
Stones leap’d to form, and rocks began to live :  
With sweeter notes each rising temple rung ;  
A Raphael painted, and a Vida sung :  
Immortal Vida ! on whose honour’d brow  
The poet’s bays and critic’s ivy grow ;  
Cremona now shall ever boast thy name,  
As next in place to Mantua, next in fame !

\* It ought to be added, however, that many juvenile inaccuracies occur in this production, and that it has been rated far too high as critical authority. It contains the attack upon the formidable Dennis, who is said to have slighted the ‘*Pastorals* ;’ and provoked an open war between them, which was terminated only by the decrepitude of the critic.

he was fortunately guarded by the delicacy of his constitution, and the bad state of his health. The sensual vices were too violent for his tender frame; and temperance is, confessedly, of the greatest consequence in preserving each faculty of the mind in it's full vigour. Even his mishapen figure is alleged to have been of use to him as a writer. It is remarked by Lord Bacon, that 'whosoever has any thing fixed in his person which induces contempt, has also a perpetual spur within to rescue and deliver himself from it.'\* Equally propitious to his studies, in this part of his life, was the circumstance of possessing a moderate competency, abundantly sufficient to supply the small expenses which both by constitution and by reflexion he required.

But even the merit of the 'Essay on Criticism' was surpassed by *that* of his 'Rape of the Lock,' which made it's appearance in 1711.† The former

\* "An Emperor of Germany, coming by chance on a Sunday into a church, found there a most mishapen priest, *pauvre portentum natura*, insomuch as the Emperor scorned and contemned him. But when he heard him read these words in the service, "For it is he that hath made us, and not we ourselves," the Emperor checked his own proud thoughts, and made inquiry into the quality and condition of the man; and finding him on examination to be most learned and devout, he made him Archbishop of Cologne, which place he did excellently discharge." (Fuller's *Holy State*, III. 15, from William of Malmsbury, II. 10.)

† About this time, also, at the desire of Steele he composed his Ode for St. Cecilia's Day, inserted the Messiah (corrected by the same friendly hand) in the Spectator, and wrote his 'Elegy on an Unfortunate Lady,' one of his most finished compositions, and almost the only one in which he has aimed at the high pathetic. It has too much of art and ornament, however, for the expression of genuine feeling. Pope indeed, it has been observed, if the simple natural ardent character be supposed



excelled in the didactic stile, for which he was peculiarly formed, a clear head and strong sense being his characteristical qualities: but it is the creative power of fancy, which constitutes the peculiar definition of poetry; and therefore it is in the latter, that he principally appears a poet. The ‘Rape of the Lock,’ indeed, displays more imagination, than all his other works put together.

This mock-heroic took its birth from an incidental quarrel between two noble Catholics, Lord Petre and Mrs. Fermor, both friends of Mr. Pope. His Lordship, in a party of pleasure, had ventured to cut off a favourite ‘lock’ of the lady’s hair. This, though done in the way of gallantry, was resented as a real injury. Hence grew mutual animosities. Pope was requested, by a common friend (Mr. Caryll, Secretary to James’ Queen) to try the power of his muse upon the occasion; under the idea, that ridicule would be the likeliest means of extinguishing the spreading flame. The poet readily complying with the proposal, and the juncture requiring despatch, the first design was completed in less than a fortnight, and produced upon the offended lady even more than the proposed effect. Pleased to the highest degree with the delicacy of the compliment, she first communicated copies of it to her acquaintance, and subsequently prevailed upon the author to allow it to appear in print: he had the caution, however, to withhold his name from the hasty sketch. But the

essential to the poet, set out with a most unpoetical character; as even his friendships and early connexions seem all to have been formed with some view of obtaining credit and distinction. The subject of this elegy appears still involved in mystery.

universal applause, which it received, induced him to enrich it with the machinery of the Sylphs, which is wrought with exquisite skill and beauty.\* The cantos, in their new dress extended to five, came out the following year accompanied by a letter to Mrs. Fermor.†

\* To Addison's dissuasion of the intended addition Pope assigned the mean motive of jealousy: but why must the advice in this instance, necessarily have been insincere? Addison admired the poem in it's original state as *merum sal*; and, perhaps, he had but an imperfect view presented to him of the meditated alteration.

† A subsequent letter, addressed to the same lady, is here subjoined, as a farther specimen of his epistolary stile:

*"To Mrs. Arabella Fermor, after her Marriage.*

"MADAM,

"You are sensible, by this time, how much the tenderness of one man of merit is to be preferred to the addresses of a thousand; and by this time the gentleman you have made choice of is sensible, how great is the joy of having all those charms and good qualities, which have pleased so many, now applied to please one only. It was but just, that the same virtues, which gave you reputation, should give you happiness; and I can wish you no greater, than that you may reap it to as high a degree as so much good-nature must give it to your husband.

"It may be expected, perhaps, that one who has the title of being a wit should say something more polite upon this occasion; but I am really more a well-wisher to your felicity, than a celebrator of your beauty. Besides, you are now a married woman, and in a fair way to be a great many better things than a fine lady; such as, an excellent wife, a faithful friend, a tender parent, and at last, as the consequence of them all, a saint in heaven. You ought now to hear nothing but that, which is all that you ever desired to hear, whatever others have spoken to you, I mean truth, and it is with the utmost that I assure you, no friend you have can more rejoice in any good that befalls you, is more sensibly delighted with the prospect of your

This year, also, he produced ‘The Dying Christian to his Soul,’ in imitation of the verses of Adrian \* and

future happiness, or more unfeignedly desires a long continuance of it.

“I hope you will think it but just, that a man, who will certainly be spoken of as your admirer after he is dead, may have the happiness, while he is living, to be esteemed

“Your, &c.”

This letter is sometimes annexed to the poem, and not injudiciously, as it completes the subject in the happy marriage of the heroine.

\* Adrian’s well-known lines are

*Animula, vagula, blandula,  
Hospes comesque corporis,  
Quæ nunc abibis in loca?  
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,  
Nec (ut soles) dabis jocos!*

This, Pope (in a Letter to Steele) affirms, in opposition to five or six of his learned friends, is not a piece of unreasonable gayety, but a very serious soliloquy; the *vagula, blandula*, &c. appearing to him expressions “not of levity, but rather of endearment and concern.” He then subjoins his version, to be inserted, if his correspondent adopts his view of the subject, in the Spectator:

‘Ah! fleeting spirit! wandering fire,  
That long hast warm’d my tender breast,  
Must thou no more this frame inspire?  
No more a pleasing cheerful guest?  
Whither, ah whither art thou flying?  
To what dark undiscover’d shore?  
Thou seem’st all trembling, shivering, dying,  
And wit and humour are no more!’

In a subsequent letter, replying to one of Steele’s (in which he had been requested to put the same lines into two or three stanzas for music) he says—“You have, it as Cowley calls it, just warm from the brain. It came to me the first moment I awoke this morning: yet, you will see, it was not so absolutely

“the fine fragment of Sappho.” It strongly resembles an ode of Flatman, of whom he was probably a reader, as he certainly was of Crashaw, Carew, Quarles, and Herbert. “He was a gleaner,” says Wharton, “of the old English poets;” and in copying Comus, he was pilfering from what was then “obsolete English poetry, without the least fear or danger of being detected.” About the same time, likewise, he published his ‘Temple of Fame,’ altered from Chaucer; having, with his usual caution, kept it

inspiration, but that I had in my head not only the verses of Adrian, but the fine fragment of Sappho, &c.

## THE DYING CHRISTIAN TO HIS SOUL.

## ODE.

## I.

‘Vital spark of heavenly flame!  
Quit, oh quit this mortal frame;  
Trembling, hoping, lingering, flying,  
Oh the pain, the bliss of dying!  
Cease, fond Nature, cease thy strife,  
And let me languish into life.

## II.

Hark! they whisper: Angels say,  
“Sister Spirit, come away!”  
What is this absorbs me quite,  
Steals my senses, shuts my sight,  
Drowns my spirits, draws my breath?  
Tell me, my Soul, can this be death?

## III.

The world recedes; it disappears!  
Heaven opens on my eyes! My ears  
With sounds seraphic ring:  
Lend, lend your wings! I mount! I fly!  
O Grave! where is thy victory?  
O Death! Where is thy sting?

two years in his study. In this there are many passages, which rank with his happiest efforts.

Of nearly contemporary date were the eight papers, which he contributed to the 'Guardian.' That he had previously assisted Steele in the 'Spectator,' may be inferred from an epistle of the latter, announcing to Pope the project of his new periodical work, though of that assistance there are no direct proofs: but he certainly wrote No. 4 of the *Guardian* on the Fulsomeness of Education, 11 on the *Obsequium Catholicum*, 40 containing an ironical comparison of his own 'Pastorals' with those of Ambrose Philips,\* 61 on Cruelty to the Brute Creation, 78 or a Receipt to make an Epic Poem (subsequently incorporated in the 'Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus') 91 and 92 on the Short Club, and 173 on laying out Gardens, and whimsical forms of Yews. Of these, several abound in rich and elegant humour; and as he excelled in prose-composition, he would probably have contributed more frequently to the valuable works in question, had he not been afraid to *commit himself* (as Chalmers observes) by too close a connexion with Steele, whose violent party-politics were in direct opposition to his own. "The little I have done (he observes, in a letter to Addison) and the great respect I bear Mr. Steele as a man of wit, has rendered me a suspected Whig to some of the violent; but, as old Dryden said before me, it is not the violent I desire to please."

He had now, as appears from one of his letters.

\* This composition of artifice, criticism, and literature, to which (as Johnson remarks) nothing equal will easily be found, so completely deceived Steele, that he kept it back for some time, lest Pope should be offended! Addison, however, perceived its drift at once. See a former Note.

begun to translate Homer's *Iliad*; and, in 1713, he circulated proposals for publishing his translation by subscription, in six volumes small folio, for six guineas. To this undertaking he had been pressed some years before by his friends. His religious principles disqualified him from receiving any substantial testimony of his merit, in the usual way, a place at court. Common prudence, therefore, prompted him to make the best advantage he could of his poetical reputation, and to try to raise an independent fortune by it. His success exceeded his most sanguine expectations: the leading men, political and literary, of both parties emulously espoused his merit; and the subscription, by its magnitude, did honour to the kingdom.\* As he was anxious to give his version

\* Swift, with whom he had now become acquainted, was one of its most active promoters. His contract with the bookseller, Lintot (whose conversation with him, during a ride to Oxford, is described with such inimitable humour in a letter from the bard to Lord Burlington) was as follows: In return for the copy-right, Lintot was to give him 200*l.* per volume, and to supply all the subscription-copies gratis. These amounted to 694 (the subscribers being 575) for which Pope received 3,921 guineas, making with the 1,200*l.* paid by the bookseller a net remuneration of 5,320*l.* 4*s.*! After surmounting a little inaptitude at the outset, his ordinary rate of progress (aided by the Latin, French, and English versions, particularly Chapman's, which he has been occasionally suspected of using instead of the original) was fifty lines a-day, including corrections. Of these a sample is subjoined, as a literary curiosity, for the reader's amusement:

(N. B. The parts distinguished by *Italics* were rejected.)

‘ Thus having spoke, y<sup>e</sup> illustrious Chief of Troy  
*Extends his eager arms to embrace his Boy,*  
lovely

Stretchd his fond arms to seize y<sup>e</sup> *beauteous* boy:

Babe  
 The *Boy* clung crying to his Nurses breast,  
 Scard at y<sup>e</sup> dazzling Helm & nodding Crest

every possible perfection, he took a journey to Oxford, to consult some books in the Bodleian and other

<sup>each kind</sup>  
 In silent pleasure *y<sup>e</sup>* fond Parent smild,  
 And Hector hastend to relieve his Child  
 The glittering Terrours <sup>unbound,</sup>  
*His radiant Helmet* from his Brows *unbrac'd,*  
<sup>on y<sup>e</sup> Ground he</sup>  
*And on y<sup>e</sup> ground the glittering Terror plac'd*  
<sup>beamy</sup>  
 And plac'd *y<sup>e</sup>* radiant Helmet on *y<sup>e</sup>* Ground  
*Then seist y<sup>e</sup> Boy, and raising him in air*  
<sup>lifting</sup>  
 Then *fondling* in his arms his infant heir,  
<sup>dancing</sup>  
 Thus to the Gods addrest a Father's prayer  
<sup>Glory fills</sup>  
 O thou whose *Thunder shakes y<sup>e</sup>* Ethereal throne  
<sup>deathless</sup>  
 And all ye *other Powrs!* protect my son!  
*Like mine this war blooming youth with every virtue bless ye:*  
*The Shield and Glory of the Trojan race*  
*Like mine his Valour and his just renown*  
*Like mine his Labours to defend the Crown*  
 Grant him like me to purchase just renown  
<sup>the Trojans</sup>  
 To guard *my country,* to defend the crown  
*In arms like me his Countrys War to wage*  
 & rise *y<sup>e</sup>* Hector of *y<sup>e</sup>* future age  
 Against his Countrys foes *y<sup>e</sup>* war to wage  
 & rise the Hector of *y<sup>e</sup>* future Age  
<sup>successful</sup>  
 So when triumphant from *the glorious* toils  
 Of Heroes slain he bears *y<sup>e</sup>* reeking spoils  
<sup>Whole hosts may</sup>  
*All Troy shall hail him with deserv'd acclaim*  
<sup>& owne the son</sup>  
 & cry *this chief* transcends his Fathers fame  
 While pleas'd amidst the general shouts of Troy  
 His Mothers conscious Heart oerflows with Joy  
<sup>on her</sup>  
 He sd & fondly gazing *o'er his consorts* charms  
 Restord his Infant to her longing arms.

libraries in that University;\* and the first part of his translation, containing four books, was published in 1715.

An open breach with Addison preceded this publication. Jealousy in one, and suspicious irritability in the other, had already clouded their friendship; though Pope had supplied Addison with the noble

on  
Soft *in* her fragrant Breast y<sup>r</sup> Babe she layd  
Prest to her Heart and with a smile surveyd  
to Repose  
Hushd *him to Rest* and wth a smile surveyd  
Passion mixt with rising fears  
But soon The troubled Pleasure dashd with Fear,  
by  
The tender Pleasure soon chastised *with* Fear  
She mingled wth y<sup>r</sup> smile a tender Tear!

The few variations, since introduced into the authorised version, are scarcely worth noticing: *clasp* for *seize* in the second line, and *secret* ill substituted for *silent* (no authority for either in the text, B. Z. 471.) in the fifth, *beaming* for *beamy* helmet,

*Then kiss'd the child, and lifting high in air,  
Thus to the gods preferr'd a father's prayer.*

and say, ' *This chief, He spoke, Restored the pleasing burthen to her arms,* and the *troubled* pleasure in the last line, constitute the whole. The entire extract is written, or rather half-printed with a pen, on the back of a frank of Addison's (when Esquires were not quite so plentiful) addressed to Mr. Alexander Pope, at Mr. Screen's house at Bath.

The original Manuscript, chiefly committed to accidental scraps by its 'paper-sparing' owner, was obtained by Lord Bolingbroke as a curiosity, descended from him to Mallett, and is now (on the solicitation of the late Dr. Maty) deposited in the British Museum.

\* After Broome and another *aid-de-livre* had renounced their offices, Jortin was employed to make extracts from Eustathius for the Poet's use in the sister University, at the rate of three or four guineas for each book: but Pope made no inquiry after his young coadjutor. See the Life of Jortin.



prologue to his ‘Cato,’ had written upon his ‘Dialogue on Medals,’ and had not indeed vindicated but avenged him by his ‘Narrative of the Madness of John Dennis,’ the censurer of that tragedy. An interview between them, accomplished by the mediation of mutual friends, had only widened the breach. Immediately after the appearance of Pope’s first volume of the *Iliad*, a rival translation was published under the name of Tickell, to which Addison affected in conversation to give the preference.\* Exasperated to a high degree by this competition, Pope wrote the following keen and polished lines, forming part of his ‘Prologue to the Satires:’ †

— ‘Were there one, whose fires  
True genius kindles and fair fame inspires;  
Blest with each talent and each art to please,  
And born to write, converse, and live with ease:  
Should such a man, too fond to rule alone,  
Bear like the Turk no brother near the throne;  
View him with scornful, yet with jealous eyes,  
And hate for arts that caused himself to rise;  
Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,  
And without sneering teach the rest to sneer;  
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,  
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike;  
Alike reserved to blame, or to commend,  
A timorous foe and a suspicious friend;  
Dreading e’en fools, by flatterers besieged,  
And so obliging that he ne’er obliged;

\* Pope was persuaded, that it was his own; but this is not now believed to have been the case, as Tickell was fully equal to the work. It never went farther than a single book. And why, in that case, should Addison have spoken so highly of Pope’s version in his ‘Freeholder’ of May 7, 1716?

† That it was probably written in the first transport of his indignation, though suppressed till Addison’s death, and then meanly published, may be inferred from his letter to Mr. Craggs of July 15, 1715.

[Who, if two wits on rival themes contest,  
 Approves of each, but likes the worst the best ;]  
 Like Cato, give his little senate laws,  
 And sit attentive to his own applause ;  
 While wits and templars every sentence raise,  
 And wonder with a foolish face of praise—  
 Who but must laugh, if such a man there be ?  
 Who would not weep, if Atticus were he ?’

His finances were now placed in such a flourishing state, that he resolved to settle himself nearer to his friends in the capital. With this view, the small estate at Binfield being sold, he purchased a house at Twickenham, whither he removed with his father and mother before the expiration of the year 1715. This he calls, ‘one of the grand aras of his days ;’ and the taste, which he displayed in improving his new residence, became the object of general admiration.

While he was employed in this delightful work, he could not forbear doubling the pleasure which he took in it, by communicating it to his friends. “The young ladies,” says he, in a letter to Mr. Blount,\*

\* Another Letter to the same beloved friend, in a somewhat different strain of feeling, is not unworthy of insertion :

‘ Oct. 21, 1721.

‘ Your very kind and obliging manner of inquiring after me, among the first concerns of life, at your resuscitation, should have been sooner answered and acknowledged. I sincerely rejoice at your recovery from an illness, which gave me less pain than it did you only from my ignorance of it. I should have else been seriously and deeply afflicted, in the thought of your danger by a fever. I think it a fine and a natural thought, which I lately read in a letter of Montaigne’s, published by P. Coste, giving an account of the last words of an intimate friend of his : “ Adieu, my friend! the pain I feel will soon be over; but I grieve for that you are to feel, which is to last you for life.”

“ may be assured, that I make nothing new in my gardens, without wishing to see the print of their fairy steps in every corner of them. I have put the

‘ I join with your family in giving God thanks for lending us a worthy man somewhat longer. The comforts you receive from their attendance, put me in mind of what old Fletcher of Saltoune said one day to me: “ Alas, I have nothing to do but to die: I am a poor individual; no creature to wish, or to fear, for my life or death. It is the only reason I have to repent being a single man: now I grow old, I am like a tree without a prop, and without young trees to grow round me, for company and defence.”

‘ I hope the gout will soon go after the fever, and all evil things remove far from you. But pray tell me, when will you move toward us? If you had an interval to get hither, I care not what fixes you afterward, except the gout. Pray come, and never stir from us again. Do away your dirty acres, cast them to dirty people, such as in the scripture-phrase “ possess the land.” Shake off your earth like the noble animal in Milton:

‘ The tawny lion, pawing to get free  
His hinder parts, he springs as broke from bonds,  
And rampant shakes his brinded mane: the ounce,  
The lizard, and the tiger, as the mole  
Rising, the crumbled earth above them threw  
In hillocks!’

But, I believe, Milton never thought these fine verses of his should be applied to a man selling a parcel of dirty acres; though in the main, I think, it may have some resemblance. For, God knows! this little space of ground nourishes, buries, and confines us, as that of Eden did those creatures, till we can shake it loose, at least in our affections and desires.

‘ Believe, dear Sir, I truly love and value you; let Mrs. Blount know that she is in the list of my *Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque’s*, &c. My poor mother is far from well, declining; and I am watching over her, as we watch an expiring taper, that even when it looks brightest, wastes fastest. I am (as you will see from the whole air of this letter) not in the gayest nor easiest humour, but always with sincerity your, &c.

last hand to my works of this kind, in happily finishing the subterraneous way\* and grotto. I there found a spring of the clearest water, which falls in a perpetual rill, that echoes through the cavern day and night. From the river Thames you see through my arch, up a walk of the wilderness, to a kind of open temple, wholly composed of shells in the rustic manner; and, from that distance, under the temple you look down through a sloping arcade of trees, and see sails on the river suddenly appearing and vanishing as through a perspective-glass. When you shut the door of this grotto, it becomes on the instant from a luminous room a *camera obscura*, on the wall of which all the objects of the river, hills, woods, and boats are forming a moving picture in their visible radiations; and, when you have a mind to light it up, it affords you a very different scene. It is finished with shells, interspersed with pieces of looking-glass in angular forms, and in the ceiling is a star of the same materials; at which, when a lamp of an orbicular figure of thin alabaster is hung in the middle, a thousand pointed rays glitter, and are reflected over the place. There are connected to this grotto by a narrower passage two porches, one toward the river, of smooth stones, full of light and open; the other toward the garden, shadowed with trees, and rough with shells, flints, and iron ores. The bottom is paved with simple pebble, as is also the adjoining walk up the wilderness to the temple, in the natural taste, agreeing not ill with the little dripping mur-

\* From his house to his garden, under the high road which separated them.

mur and the aquatic idea of the whole place. It wants nothing to complete it but a good statue, with an inscription like that beauteous picturesque one which you know I am so fond of;

*Hujus nympha loci, sacri custodia fontis,  
Dormio, dum blandæ sentio murmur aquæ :  
Parce meum, quisquis tangis cava marmora, somnum  
Rumpere ; seu bibas, sive lavere, tace.\**

‘ Nymph of the grot, these sacred springs I keep,  
And to the murmur of these waters sleep.  
Ah! spare my slumbers: gently tread the cave,  
And drink in silence, or in silence lave.’

“ You’ll think I have been very poetical in this description, but it is pretty nearly the truth.”

He afterward composed a poem upon it in a peculiar cast and kind; † and Dr. Warburton informs us,

\* These lines, originally written by Cardinal Bembo, the Rev. Dr. Symmons, the excellent biographer of Milton, with his accustomed felicity of version has thus translated:

‘ Here lul’d, while listening to the vocal wave,  
I sleep, the virgin Genius of the cave.  
Guest of my marble bower! whoe’er thou art,  
Spare my repose, drink! bathe! be still! depart!’

(*Poems*, p. 142.)

† ‘ Thou, who shalt stop where Thames’ translucent wave  
Shines, a broad mirror through the shadowy cave;  
Where lingering drops from mineral roofs distil,  
And pointed crystals break the sparkling rill;  
Unpolish’d gems no ray on pride bestow,  
And latent metals innocently glow:  
Approach! great Nature studiously behold;  
And eye the mine, without a wish for gold.  
Approach, But awful!—Lo! th’ Egerian grot,  
Where, nobly pensive, St. John sat and thought;

that the improving of this grotto was the favourite amusement of his declining years: so that, not long before his death, by encrusting it about with a vast number of ores and minerals of the richest and rarest kinds, he had rendered it a most elegant retirement. "And the beauty of his poetic genius (he adds) in the disposition and ornaments of those romantic materials, appeared to as much advantage as in any of his best-contrived poems." \*

His father survived his removal to Twickenham only two years, dying suddenly, after a very healthy life, at the age of seventy-five.†

Where British sighs from dying Wyndham stole,  
And the bright flame was shot through Marchmont's soul!  
Let such, such only tread this sacred floor,  
Who dare to love their country, and be poor!'

\* The reader will hear with regret that of this grotto, &c., conceived, constructed, and consecrated by the hand of genius, no remains now exist!

† He was buried at Twickenham, where the poet erected a handsome monument to his memory, with an inscription celebrating his innocence, probity, and piety. See the character, which his pious son has given him, in the 'Prologue to the Satires,' 'Born to no pride, inheriting no strife,' &c. As he was a Roman Catholic, he could not purchase land, nor put his money to interest upon real security; and, adhering to the interest of the Stuarts, he made it a point of conscience not to lend it to the new government. Hence, though he was worth nearly 20,000*l.* when he declined business as a linen-draper in the Strand at the Revolution, by subsequently living upon his capital, he left behind him so narrow a fortune, that a single false step in it's application would have proved fatal.

The old gentleman had occasionally recommended to his son, in his early years, the study of physic, as the best means of repairing this waste of property. But he could not have proceeded beyond a simple proposal, as we are assured by the poet, that

Probably about this period, induced (as Savage informed Dr. Johnson) by his perusal of Prior's 'Nut-brown Maid,' he wrote his celebrated 'Epistle from Eloisa to Abelard;' of which all the most striking turns are to be traced in that heroine's letters. By the brilliance which he has added to the descriptions, and the warmth infused into the passions, he has rendered this finished poem the most impressive perhaps of amatory compositions. It treads, however, too closely upon the heels of licentiousness in consequence of these poetical exaggerations, which have been accurately pointed out by Mr. Berrington in his 'Lives of the Two Lovers.'

In 1717, he republished in quarto his 'Poems' already written, with a lively and elegant preface, and in 1720, he completed his Iliad. In the dedication of it, which Halifax expected, he passed over peers and statesmen (probably unwilling to risk offending either party, since he had so many patrons and friends among both) and inscribed it to a brother-poet, Congreve, with whom it does not appear that he was in habits of peculiar intimacy.

In the same year, he was infected with the general South Sea contagion; but, the first fall of the stock exciting in him a salutary alarm, he sold out in time to save himself from any considerable loss.

In 1721, he published a volume of the select 'Poems' of his deceased friend Parnell (who had furnished him with the 'Life of Homer' for his Translation) and prefixed to it a beautiful dedication in verse to the Earl of Oxford, at that time a retired

\* he 'broke no duty, nor disobeyed either parent, in following the poetical profession;' and his father had the satisfaction of living long enough to see him making an honourable fortune by it.

statesman under the discountenance of a triumphant party. His religion indeed, in conjunction with his early impressions and his principal intimacies, gave him a bias toward the Tory or Jacobite party, which obviously and at all times influenced his censure and his praise.

The possession of wealth, it has been truly observed, excites a thirst for more. In this same year, for the paltry bribe of 217*l.* 12*s.* he lent his name and labour to Tonson as editor of Shakspeare's Works in six volumes, 4*to.*; an office, for which he was so little fit, that he incurred the perpetual castigation of the heavy Theobald. Henceforward indeed, says Johnson, he "became an enemy to editors, collators, commentators, and verbal critics; and hoped to persuade the world, that he miscarried in this undertaking only by having a mind too great for such minute employment."

His love of emolument was still more largely displayed by issuing proposals for the translation of the *Odyssey*, in five volumes quarto at five guineas, with the assistance however of two coadjutors, Fenton and Broome, who finished their portion of the work in an inferior manner. The whole transaction was as completely mercantile, as if it had been negotiated in Change-Alley.\*

\* He was to receive all the subscriptions (£19, for 574 names) and 100*l.* *per* volume besides, from Lintot, who was as before to furnish the subscribers' copies *gratis*. Out of this aggregate of 4,799*l.* 15*s.* he paid Fenton 300*l.* for his version of books i. iv. xix. and xx., and Broome for double the number of books (ii. vi. viii. xi. xii. xvi. xviii. and xxiii.) and notes upon the whole, double that sum. Spence wrote a commentary on the English *Odyssey*, which gained him the friendship of the translator with the privilege of compiling memorials of his conversation, and through his influence valuable preferment in the church.



In 1723 he appeared before the Lords at the trial of Atterbury, to depose to the occupations of his private life, which left little time for conspiracies. Upon this occasion, he is said to have committed several blunders. His letters to that Prelate, both before and after his misfortune, overflow with esteem, tenderness, and gratitude.

In 1726 and the following year, in concert with his associates Swift and Arbuthnot, he was engaged in printing several volumes of Miscellanies. Pope's contributions were, the 'Memoirs of a Parish-Clerk,' 'Stradling *versus* Styles,' *Virgilius Restauratus*, the 'Basset-Table,' and the 'Art of Sinking in Poetry,' designed as a part of the 'Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus,' a satire projected in conjunction with his above-named associates 'On the Abuses of Human Learning,' in the manner of Cervantes.

About this time, he narrowly escaped losing his life, as he was returning home in a friend's chariot. In passing a bridge, the carriage was overturned, and with the horses thrown into the river. As the glasses were up, and he was unable to break them, he was in immediate danger of drowning, when the postilion fortunately came to his relief, and carried him to the bank: a fragment of the broken glass, however, wounded his hand so deeply, that he lost the use of two of his fingers.\*

Having now secured to himself a state of independence, he made it his next care to guard his literary fame from future attacks, by silencing his envious rivals. This he accomplished in his admirable

\* Voltaire, who had visited England this year, and been introduced to Pope, wrote him a letter of condolence upon the occasion.

poem entitled 'The Dunciad,' which came out in 1727.

Here, observes Anderson, he appears by his own narrative (in the dedication, which he wrote to Lord Middlesex in the name of Savage) to have been the aggressor. No one can believe, that the initials adopted in the 'Art of Sinking in Poetry' were placed at random. Theobald, Eusden, Blackmore, Philips, Defoe, Bentley, Hill,\* Welsted, and Cibber

\* In a subsequent edition, however, he thought fit to omit Aaron Hill, who by manly expostulation compelled him to shuffle, and deny, and apologise, and suppress. He, also, left out the name of Burnet. After having thus (as it has been observed) humbled the fine genius, which discovers itself in the text of the poem, through all the depravity of a splenetic and frequently calumnious commentary; vaunted, in 'all the phrensy and prodigality of vanity,'

—Yes, I am proud to see

Men, not afraid of God, afraid of me;

and tried to persuade the awed nation, that all talent was confined to himself and his friends; he was obliged to purchase protection from a hired champion (a tall Irishman, who attended him) or to culk behind the shield of some generous military Ajax. He had, likewise, to encounter the strong sense of Theobald, the furious but often acute remarks of Dennis (whom he had provoked to implacable hostility by his 'Appius'), the good humoured yet keen remonstrances of Cibber, the silver shaft tipped with venom of the vindictive Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and many a vigorous random shot. One of these, by a 'Theobaldian,' is here preserved for the reader's amusement.

'With rueful eyes thou view'st thy wretched race,  
The child of guilt and destined to disgrace.  
Thus, when famed Joan usurp'd the Pontiff's chair,  
With terror she beheld her new-born heir:  
Ill-starr'd, ill-favour'd, into birth it came,  
In vice begotten and brought forth with shame;  
In vain it breathes, a lewd abandon'd hope,  
And calls in vain th' unhallow'd parent—Pope.'

were not writers, who deserved to be ridiculed for their general defects; nor had they particularly slandered the satirist. The Dunces, if indeed they were not flies unworthy of an eagle, should have smarted by themselves, or at any rate should **only** have been coupled with his calumniators. **Perhaps**, throughout the history of literature, there hardly occurs a second instance of such futile vengeance; as Pope himself pronounces his enemies ‘so contemptible that, if left alone, they must speedily sink into total oblivion.’ And to his verses alone is it now owing, that they are known to have existed. That amber has preserved them.

Personal satire however, to which he was first incited by his friend Atterbury, was so well suited to his disposition, and by quickening the sale of his poems so gratified his lust of literary profit, that it is to be traced in most of his subsequent productions. When he subsequently deprecated the appropriation of his *Bufo*, he found a painful retardation in their sale. Yet Dr. Young, in his ‘*Love of Fame*,’ ventured to rely solely upon abstract characters and pure wit. Cartwright, one of the pupils of Old Ben, has by a most beautiful and original image described the genuine office of the satirist:

— ‘’Tis thy skill

To strike the vice, but spare the person still;  
As he who, when he saw the serpent wreathed  
About his sleeping son, and as he breathed  
Drink in his soul, did so the shot contrive  
To kill the beast, but keep the child alive.’

The life of an author, he himself somewhere observes, is a state of warfare; and in this attack, or rather series of attacks, he has proved himself a

complete literary general. He had borne the insults of his enemies full ten years, before he hazarded a general battle: he was all that while climbing the hills of Parnassus, during which he could not forbear some slight skirmishes; and the success of these showed him **his** superior strength, and thus added confidence to **his** courage. He was now seated safely on the summit. Besides, he had obtained what in his own opinion is the happiest end of life, the love of valuable men: and the next felicity, he declares, was 'to get rid of fools and scoundrels;' to which end, after having by several affected marches and counter-marches brought the whole army of them into his power, he suddenly fell upon them with a pen as irresistible as the sword of St. Michael, and made an universal slaughter, not suffering one of them to escape his fury.

The poem made it's first appearance, as a masked battery, in Ireland: nor indeed was the triumph completed without the assistance of the writer's undoubted second, Dean Swift, to whom it is addressed. The latter having furnished it with some exquisitely-wrought materials, a splendid edition was printed in London in 1728.\*

\* This edition was presented to their Majesties by Sir Robert Walpole, who probably offered at the same time to procure the author a pension: but with the same spirit, with which he had formerly refused an offer of the same kind made by Lord Halifax, he declined the obligation. It is, also, well known that Mr. Craggs, in 1710, gave him a subscription for one hundred pounds in the South Sea Fund, of which he made no use.

As these offers were undoubtedly made with the view of detaching him from his political friends, his refusals are so many illustrious proofs of his steadiness. Yet he declares, in a letter

In 1729, with equal prudence and piety, he purchased an annuity of one hundred pounds for his own and his mother's life.

The same year likewise, by the advice of Lord Bolingbroke, he turned his pen to subjects of ethics; and with the assistance of that nobleman (who afterward, it is said, ridiculed him for having advanced principles at variance with his own, and of which he did not perceive the consequences) commenced his 'Essay on Man.' \* "Bid Pope," says Bolingbroke in a letter to Swift, "talk to you of the work † he is about, I hope in good earnest; it is a fine one, and will be in his hands an original. His sole complaint is, that 'he finds it too easy in the execution.' This flatters his laziness. It flatters my judgement, who always thought that, universal as his talents are, this is eminently and peculiarly his above all the

to Swift, that 'he had personal obligations, which he would ever preserve, to gentlemen on both sides of the question.'

\* This, of which the first Three parts were successively published anonymously in 1733, was in the ensuing year completed by a Fourth, and avowed by the author. Faulty and puerile as some of its lines are, and imperfectly as he is now known to have comprehended his subject, yet from his extraordinary powers of managing argumentation in verse, and alternately compressing his thoughts in clauses of the most energetic brevity, and expanding them into passages fraught with every poetic ornament, the Essayist on Man must always stand in the first class of ethical poets.

† "The work he speaks of with such abundant partiality is, a system of ethics, in the Horatian way." (Pope's *Letters to Swift*.)

In a subsequent letter, we see the general aim, which he wished might be attributed to this work: "I am just now writing, or rather planning, a book, to bring mankind to look upon this life with comfort and pleasure, and put morality in good humour."

writers I know, living or dead; I do not except Horace."

This subject was exactly suited to his genius; he found the performance unexpectedly easy; and he, therefore, employed his leisure hours upon a similar plan in his 'Ethic Epistles,' which came out separately in the course of the two following years. Against the fourth of these Epistles, addressed to Lord Bolingbroke, upon Taste, a loud clamor was raised; and the character of Timon contained in it, more particularly, gave great offence. The Duke of Chandos, the hospitable proprietor of the magnificent seat of Cannons, it is said, addressed the writer, who had often partaken of his courtesy, in a manner which convinced him that he ought to have confined himself to fictitious characters. Pope's exculpatory apology was accepted by his justly-offended host, and—disbelieved.

All this while, the Epistle sold so rapidly, that it had reached a third edition: upon which he published a letter to Lord Burlington, in the March following; expressing his resentment of the charge, which (he says) 'through malice or mistake still continued,' disavowing any design against the Duke, paying him several high compliments, and subjoining; "Certainly the writer deserved more candor, even in those who know him not, than to promote a report, which in regard to that noble person was impertinent, in regard to me villainous." He concludes with threatening to make use of real names, not fabricated ones, in his ensuing works; and, accordingly, he thenceforward let loose the whole fury of his satirical rage against his adversaries both in prose and verse.

In his 'Imitation of the First Satire of Horace's Second Book,' he had described Lord Hervey\* and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu† so characteristically under the names of Lord Fanny and Sappho, that they not only took up the same weapons against him in return, but vindictively used all ~~their~~ interest among the nobility, and even with the King and Queen, to effect his ruin. Of this last injury he complained the most heavily: and the letter, which he wrote in reply, was shown to her Majesty as soon as it was finished. ‡

\* His prose letter to the same nobleman Warton calls, 'a master-piece of invective.'

† With this lady he had become acquainted, soon after his removal to Twickenham; he had addressed her (without exciting much of her alarm, either as to danger or scandal) in the strain of a lover, and not only corresponded with her while abroad from 1716 to 1718, but maintained also a friendly intercourse with her for some time after her return. If he intended his 'Sappho' for her Ladyship—and who now doubts it? a grosser and more unmanly insult was never offered to one of the sex.

Yet he retained some female friends. Of the two Misses Blount (sisters of a Catholic gentleman near Reading, who was one of his correspondents) the handsomest, Teresa, seems first to have attracted his particular regard; but Martha, subsequently, became his intimate confidante and companion through life.

‡ The Queen, says Ruffhead, had "declared her intention of honouring him with a visit at Twickenham. His mother was then alive; and lest the visit should give her pain, on account of the danger his religious principles must incur by an intimacy with the court his piety made him with great duty and humility beg, that 'he might decline this honour.' Some years afterward, his mother being then dead, the Prince of Wales condescended to pay him a visit: when Mr. Pope met him at the water-side, he expressed his sense of the honour done him in very proper terms, joined with the most dutiful expressions of attachment. On which the Prince said, "It is very well; but how shall we reconcile your love to a Prince with your professed

After this, he continued writing Satires till the year 1739, when he entertained some thoughts of undertaking an epic poem; which, however, he never carried into execution. In the Epilogue, he has stated the reason of his laying down his satirical pen; as he had previously assigned the cause for discontinuing his Moral Essays, in a letter to Dean Swift: "I am almost at the end of my morals, as I have been long ago of my wit: my system is a short one, and my circle narrow. Imagination has no limits; that is a sphere, in which you may move on to eternity: but where one is confined to truth, or (to speak more like a human creature) to the appearances of truth, we soon find the shortness of our tether."

In 1732 he lost his amiable friend Gay, whom he loved with great affection; and the ensuing year, by a still heavier stroke, deprived him of his mother. 'Heaven had lent her long, however (if the *id quod est diu* may be ascribed to any thing mortal) to her son and the poor; as she reached the very advanced age of ninety three. "His filial piety," says Johnson, "was in the highest degree amiable and exemplary: his parents had the happiness of living till he was at the summit of his poetical reputation, till he was at ease in his fortune, and without a rival in his fame; and found no diminution of his respect or tenderness. Whatever was his pride, to them he was obedient; and whatever was his irritability, to

indisposition to Kings, since Princes will be Kings in time?" "Sire," replied Pop., "I consider royalty under that noble and authorised type of the lion: while he is young, and before his nails are grown, he may be approached and caressed with safety and pleasure."



them he was gentle. Life has, among it's soothing and quiet comforts, few things better to bestow than such a son."

In the interim, several of his familiar letters having stolen into the world without his privity, he published a genuine collection of them in quarto, for which he received subscriptions, in 1737. The surreptitious edition is said to have been accomplished in the following manner: Pope had held a correspondence with Mr. Cromwell, whose mistress (the celebrated Corinna of that day) sold some of the poet's epistles to the noted piratical book-dealer, Edmund Curll. These Curll showed to gentlemen, with whom Pope had likewise corresponded, and thus procured from them the communication of other letters; as they conceived, he must with the writer's concurrence have been put in possession of the first.

Upon this publication Pope, with the appearance of great resentment, procured the editor to be summoned before the House of Lords for breach of privilege, there being (as it was asserted) some letters from noblemen in the number; although there is substantial evidence that he himself, with his characteristic crookedness of policy, had contrived the plot, through the medium of Worsdale the printer, in order to justify his own subsequent edition. These letters, though written much like those of the younger Pliny, for the purpose of displaying himself to the public, with considerable parade of sentiment and (in the midst of all their elegance and sprightliness) tainted by occasional affectation and artifice of expression, particularly when addressed to ladies, filled the nation, as we learn from Johnson, with praises of his

candor, tenderness, and benevolence, the purity of his purposes, and the fidelity of his friendship. The collection including several interesting Epistles from his correspondents,\* formed a valuable addition to English literature.

In 1733, he published his ‘ Epistle to Lord Bathurst, on the Use of Riches,’ in which he portrays Kyrle; “ the Man of Ross : ” and, in the year following, his ‘ Characters of Men ; ’ in which, by a most unskilful illustration of his favourite theory, the Ruling Passion, he has confounded passions, appetites, and habits. In his next Epistle, on the ‘ Characters of Women,’ his subsequent insertion of the Duchess of Marlborough, under the name of Atossa, formed a disgraceful parallel to his ungrateful attack upon his friend, the Duke of Chandos. His ‘ Prologue to his Satires ’ appeared in January, 1735, about a month before the death of Dr. Arbuthnot, to whom it was addressed; a man, whose buoyant imagination science had not encumbered, whose early skill society had not diminished, amiable and useful in all the relations of life, and neither too witty nor too wise to pray.

In 1740, he republished the ‘ *Poemata Italorum*, ’ originally given to the world by Atterbury † in 1684, with some additions; of which, however, it may be

\* Arbuthnot’s, especially, are composed, as well as those of Swift, with the most playful ease and simplicity: and several of Bolingbroke’s and Atterbury’s indicate the hand of a master.

† In the title-page designated, ‘ *Anonymi Cujusdam* ! ’ Could Pope be ignorant, who had been his predecessor? Or had nine years (for Atterbury died in 1731) taught him to forget, or to wish that the world should forget, one who had been his friend?

doubted, whether they compensate the omission of the very classical preface. About the same time, likewise, on the suggestion of the Duke of Shrewsbury and the Earl of Oxford, he published his 'Donne's Satires' modernised.

Honours now thickened round him: and the Prince of Wales himself, though not insensible to his political character as opposed to that of his father's ministers, dined at his house. Thus stimulated, he wrote his two last satires, 'Seventeen Hundred and Thirty Eight,' which are distinguished (as might be expected) by their party-severity.

The ill state of his health about this time frequently drawing him to Bath, he could not long remain unknown to Mr. Allen, who resided at Prior Park near that place, and had been highly delighted by his 'Letters.'\* The result of their intercourse was his introduction to Warburton, subsequently Bishop of Gloucester, who had written Commentaries upon the 'Art of Criticism,' and the 'Essay on Man.'†

\* This gentleman, the Allworthy of Fielding's *Tom Jones*, had even offered to pay the expense of the new edition: but Pope had too often tasted the sweets of subscription, to be satisfied with mere indemnity from loss.

† In both he detected an order and connexion, which had escaped the observation of Addison, and had not (it is even said) entered into the contemplation of the author himself. For this useful sagacity, he was abundantly remunerated by what Pope procured for him in return; the friendship of Mr. Murray (afterward Lord Mansfield) through whose interest he became preacher at Lincoln's Inn and all that followed, and that of Mr. Allen, who gave him his niece and his estate.

Dr. Hugh Blair, in a Letter to Mr. Boswell, states (on the authority of Lord Bathurst) that "the 'Essay on Man' was origi-

One complaint against the latter work was, it's obscurity; and with this it had been charged even by his acute friend, the Dean of St. Patrick's. But it laboured, also, under a heavier imputation: the author was charged with having inculcated the principles of deism; and a French translation by the Abbé Resnel having appeared at Paris in 1738, M. Crousaz, a German Professor, severely animadverted upon it as a direct system of fatalism. Against this objector Warburton first entered the lists, in his *Commentary*; and Pope, in a letter to him upon the occasion, acknowledges the obscurity of his piece: "You have made my system as clear as I ought to have done, and could not; you understand me as

nally composed by Lord Bolingbroke in most elegant prose, and that Pope did no more than put it into most beautiful verse." Lord Bathurst, likewise, farther informed him, 'that he knew Pope understood the *Iliad* in the original: for part of it was translated at his own seat; and in the mornings, when they assembled at breakfast, the poet used frequently to repeat with great rapture the Greek lines which he had been translating, and then to give them his version and to compare them together.' (*Life of Johnson*, iii. 198, 199.)

Bishop Law, in his preface to Archbishop King's '*Essay on the Origin of Evil*,' more indirectly indeed, confirms the former of the two above-mentioned facts. From that fact, and the subsequent friendship of Pope and Warburton, perhaps Bolingbroke's perpetual hostility to the bard, or rather to his ashes, may be explained. 'The subtile suggestions of the powerful Commentator had purged the '*Essay*' from many of the objectionable principles of the noble philosopher, and had re-established the faith of it's author, which had been shaken by his Lordship. Warburton had, likewise, committed to paper some very free strictures upon the '*Letters on the Use and Abuse of History*,' without knowing who was the writer. These Pope transmitted to Bolingbroke. On the subsequent meeting of the two antagonists, the latter dissembled: but they were born to hate each other.

well as I do myself, but you express me better than I express myself." In a subsequent communication, he goes still farther: "You understand my work better than I do myself."\*

The Commentary, thus approved, was appended to a new edition of the *Essay* in 1740. Pope desired Warburton, likewise, to procure a good version of the '*Essay on Man*' into Latin prose, which was begun by a gentleman of Cambridge; but a specimen, which was sent to the poet, not giving satisfaction, the design was laid aside.

At the instance of his reverend Commentator,† also, he added a fourth book to the *Dunciad*; which was printed separately, in 1742.

Both in his '*Epistle to Dr Arbuthnot*,' and in the '*Dunciad*,' he had attacked Cibber with great acrimony. Cibber, who knew his irritability, in a bitter pamphlet told some ludicrous stories of his assailant. In consequence of this, in a new edition of the latter poem he was seated on the throne of Dulness in the stead of Theobald. Unfortunately, the two heroes were of opposite characters; and as

\* From these acknowledgements it appears that Bolingbroke, who confessedly furnished the matter of the '*Essay*,' had put more into the poet's head than he was able perfectly to comprehend.

† About this period the two friends visited Oxford together, where Mr. Pope had the offer of a doctor's degree in law: which, however, he thought proper to decline. A similar offer to his fellow-traveller, of a doctor's degree in divinity, was received in a very different manner. But it proved to be a mere compliment, those who made it having erroneously imagined, that one of them would not choose to receive such a compliment without the other; so that, when the Congregation met for the purpose, the grace (to Warburton's deep annoyance) passed in the negative.

Pope was unwilling to cancel what he had already written, he left to the new monarch the unsuitable accompaniment of old books, cold pedantry, and sluggish pertinacity, which had so happily characterised the old one. This disturbed the *το πρεπον* of the whole fiction, and the result was, a poetical chimæra. Cibber however, anxious only for present annoyance, and indifferent to future fame, retaliated by a second pamphlet. With his inimitable *gaieté de cœur* (for by his innocent egotism, and strong animal spirits, he was carried to the verge of ninety five) and with the honest simplicity of truth, though wrestling with one of celestial race, he came off apparently victor.

Henceforward under the oppression of a severe asthma, declining in strength and drooping in spirits, he laid aside his projects of new works (including an epic poem, on the arrival of Brutus in England) and employed himself chiefly in revision. Among the friends, whose visits consoled his infirmities, Lord Bolingbroke\* was one of the most assiduous and affectionate. By Miss Blount, to whom notwithstanding he left the greater part of his fortune for her life, he was unfeelingly neglected.

\* This friendship he justly forfeited, after he was no longer sensible, however, to its loss. Having been requested by his noble acquaintance to procure the impression of a very few copies of his 'Patriot King,' he had ordered to be thrown off and retained in secret the large number of 1500, which on Pope's death the printer honestly transmitted to the right owner! Bolingbroke consigned them all to the flames, and employed Mallet, another friend of Pope, to expose this shameful breach of trust to the public. Even Warburton, whose attachment perhaps had now cooled a little, only endeavoured to extenuate the offence: and he was addressed, in consequence of the audacity of the attempt, in a 'Letter to the most Impudent Man Living.'

During his last illness, he complained of 'seeing things as through a curtain;' and lamented, as his greatest inconvenience, his inability to think. Upon the suggestion of Hooke the historian, a convert to Popery, he received the sacrament from a Romish priest.\*

He had, throughout his life, been the victim of a severe head-ach.† This complaint, to which his mother likewise had always been subject, was now greatly increased by his other ailments; and under their joint attack he expired, May 30, 1744, in the fifty sixth year of his age.

His body was deposited, pursuant to his own request, in the same vault with those of his parents, to whose memory he had erected a monument, with an inscription written by himself:

D. O. M.

*Alexandro Pope, viro innocuo, probò, pio,*

*Qui vixit an. 75, ob. 1717.*

*Et Edithæ conjugì, inculpabili, pietissimæ,*

*Quæ vixit an. 93, ob. 1733.*

*Parentibus bene merentibus*

*Filius fecit.*

*Et sibi. Obiit an. (1744.) ætatis (56).*

Not long before his death he made his will, ‡ in which he bequeathed his papers to Lord Bolingbroke.

\* Though pressed by Atterbury, he had never chosen to declare a change of religion: whether through indifference to forms, or from a reluctance to give his mother pain.

† Upon this subject an elegant epigram was written:

'Immortal Jove thus felt an equal pain,  
And Wisdom's Goddess issued from his brain.'

‡ Lord Bathurst, Lord Marchmont, Mr. Murray, and Mr. Arbuthnot were his executors.

and failing him to Lord Marchmont; to Dr. Warburton the property of such of his works already printed, as he had written or should write Commentaries upon, and which had not been otherwise disposed of (with the sole condition, that they should be published without subsequent alterations); his pictures and statues, with some of his favourite books, among his noble friends; provision for his favourite domestics; and to Mr. Allen,\* in affected repayment of all his kindness, a legacy of 150*l*.! which that gentleman accepted, and gave to the Bath Hospital.

“I own,” says he in a letter to Warburton, “the late encroachments upon my constitution make me willing to see the end of all farther care about me, or my works. I would rest for the one, in a full resignation of my being to be disposed of by the Father of all Mercies; and for the other, though indeed a trifle, yet a trifle may be some example, I would commit them to the candor of a sensible and reflecting judge, rather than to the malice of every short-sighted and malevolent critic, or inadvertent and censorious reader; and no head can set them in so clear a light, or so well turn their best side to the day, as your own.” In discharge of this trust, Warburton gave a complete edition, in 1751, of all his works (with the exception of his *Homer*) in nine

\* Allen had offended the haughty Miss Blount, by refusing her his carriage to the Catholic chapel. This, as he was then Mayor of Bath, he stated, ‘could not without impropriety be seen at the door of a place of worship, which his office might require him to suppress.’ She complained to Pope on the occasion, and not satisfied with making him abruptly leave the house, refused to accept from him any legacy, unless he left the world with a formal disavowal of all obligation to Mr. Allen. Pope meanly submitted to pollute his will with female resentment.



volumes octavo, executed in such a manner as, he was persuaded, would have been to the author's entire satisfaction.\*

“ If we may judge of him (says Lord Orrery) by his works, his chief aim, was to be esteemed a man of virtue. His letters are written in that stile: his last volumes are all of the moral kind; he has avoided trifles, and consequently has escaped a rock, which has proved very injurious to Dr. Swift's reputation. He has given his imagination full scope, and yet has preserved a perpetual guard upon his conduct. The constitution of his body and mind might really incline him to the habits of caution and reserve: the treatment, which he met with afterward from an innumerable tribe of adversaries, confirmed this habit, and made him slower than the Dean in pronouncing his judgement upon persons and things. His prose-writings are little less harmonious than his verse; and his voice, in common conversation, was so naturally musical, that I remember honest Tom Southern used to call him the ‘ Little Nightingale.’ His manners were easy, delicate, and engaging; and he treated his friends with a politeness that charmed.

\* How far, however, his editorial privilege of writing notes extended, is only known to himself. Many indeed, inserted in the first edition, were left out in the second; but many likewise were retained, which convey severe reflexions upon the poet's dearest friends. These have not escaped deserved censure.

Another edition, by Owen Ruffhead, with an account of his Life and observations upon his compositions, appeared in 5 vols. 4to. in 1769. Others were announced by Gilbert Wakefield, and Dr. Joseph Warton, whose ‘ Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope’ (2 vols. 8vo. 1762, 1782) abounds with taste and learning; and the latest was published in ten volumes 8vo. by the Rev. W. L. Bowles, in 1806.

and a generosity that was much to his honour. Every guest was made happy within his doors, pleasure dwelt under his roof, and elegance presided at his table."

In person protuberant both behind and before, he was so low of stature, that in order to bring him on a level with common tables, it was necessary to raise his seat. But his face was animated, and his eye remarkably piercing. As he could scarcely, from the contraction of one side and general feebleness of frame, hold himself upright without support, he very pardonably used stays. Under a coarse linen shirt, with fine sleeves, he wore a fur doublet; and, to enlarge the bulk of his legs, had three pair of stockings, which (as he could neither dress, nor undress, himself) were drawn on and off by his maid. Sickly, fretful, and impatient, he was extremely troublesome to the servants of those whom he visited; but he compensated their kindness by pecuniary rewards. When he felt drowsy, a sense of propriety did not restrain him from nodding in company: he once, indeed, slumbered at his own table, while the Prince of Wales was talking of poetry. In eating, he was both dainty and voracious; but it does not appear, that he was addicted to wine. At home, he was at some times so frugal, that he would limit a couple of guests to a pint of wine; though at others, professing to give a splendid entertainment, he would display great taste and magnificence. His love of money was rather eagerness to gain, than solicitude to keep: for he lent a considerable sum to Dodsley, to enable him to open a shop, subscribed handsomely to Savage, and bestowed large sums in charity. Too early susceptible and too long retentive of offence, open to

flattery and studious of revenge, peevish in temper and petty in contrivance (which may principally be ascribed, perhaps, to constitutional debility) he must have had a powerful overbalance of virtues, to be so much beloved during his life, and so affectionately regretted after his death. Bolingbroke himself affirmed, ‘He had never known a man, who had so tender a heart for his particular friends, or more general friendship for mankind.’

Of his intellectual character the fundamental principle is good sense, a prompt and intuitive perception of consonance and propriety. As a poet, while it is allowed that he does not abound in invention, he must be admitted to excel in the other great constituent qualities of harmonious versification, imagery and splendor of diction, and the talent of vivifying and brightening every subject which he touched. To assist these powers, he possessed singular strength and exactness of memory improved by indefatigable industry, and he had acquired and thoroughly digested a vast aggregate of various kinds of knowledge. His productions, indeed, form a school of English Poetry.

The reader will be glad to peruse, from the pen of Dr. Johnson, a parallel between Pope and his great master Dryden; a composition every way worthy of it's subject, and which could scarcely by any other pen have been supplied :

‘Integrity of understanding and nicety of discernment were not allotted in a less proportion to Dryden, than to Pope. The rectitude of Dryden's mind was sufficiently shown by the dismissal of his poetical prejudices, and the rejection of unnatural thoughts and rugged numbers. But Dryden never desired to apply all the judgement that he had. He wrote,

and professed to write, merely for the people; and, when he pleased others, he contented himself. Pope was not content to satisfy: he desired to excel; and, therefore, always endeavoured to do his best. He did not court the candor, but dared the judgement, of his reader; and, expecting no indulgence from others, he showed none to himself. For this reason, he kept his pieces long in his hands, while he considered and reconsidered them. It will seldom be found that he altered, without adding clearness, elegance, and vigour. Pope had, perhaps, the judgement of Dryden; but Dryden, certainly, wanted the diligence of Pope.

‘In acquired knowledge, the superiority must be allowed to Dryden, whose education was more scholastic. His mind had a larger range, and he collects his images and illustrations from a more extensive circumference of science. Dryden knew more of man in his general nature, and Pope in his local manners. The notions of Dryden were formed by a comprehensive speculation, and those of Pope by minute attention. There is more dignity in the knowledge of Dryden, and more certainty in that of Pope.

‘Poetry was not the sole praise of either, for both excelled, likewise, in prose: but Pope did not borrow his prose from his predecessors. The stile of Dryden is capricious and varied; that of Pope is cautious and uniform. Dryden observes the motions of his own mind; Pope constrains his mind to his own rules of composition. Dryden is sometimes vehement and rapid; Pope is always smooth, uniform, and gentle. Dryden’s page is a natural field, rising into inequalities, and diversified by the varied exuberance of

abundant vegetation ; Pope's is a velvet lawn, shaven by the scythe and levelled by the roller.

• Of genius, that power which constitutes a poet, that quality without which judgement is cold and knowledge is inert, that energy which collects, combines, amplifies, and animates, the superiority must with some hesitation be allowed to Dryden. It is not to be inferred, that of this poetical vigour Pope had only a little, because Dryden had more : for every other writer, since Milton, must give place to Pope ; and even of Dryden it must be said, that ‘ if he has brighter paragraphs, he has not better poems.’ Dryden's performances were always hasty ; either excited by some external occasion, or extorted by some domestic necessity : he composed without consideration, and published without correction. What his mind could supply at call, or gather in one excursion, was all that he sought, and all that he gave. The dilatory caution of Pope enabled him to condense his sentiments, to multiply his images, and to accumulate all that study might produce, or that chance might supply. If the flights of Dryden therefore are higher, Pope continues longer on the wing. If of Dryden's fire the blaze is brighter, of Pope's the heat is more regular and constant. Dryden often surpasses expectation, and Pope never falls below it. Dryden is read with frequent astonishment, and Pope with perpetual delight.



## DR. JONATHAN SWIFT,

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.\*

[1667—1745.]

OF eight pens, which have been contemporaneously or successively employed upon the life, writings, and character of this illustrious man, only those of Lord Orrery, Mr. T. Sheridan, Dr. Hawkesworth, and Dr. Johnson rise to the dignity of biography. Dr. Delany, Mr. Deane Swift, and Mr. Berkeley must be regarded as mere apologists; and Mrs. Pilkington, as a retailer simply of interesting anecdotes.

Jonathan Swift, the posthumous son of Mr. Jonathan Swift† an attorney, was born at Dublin, No-

\* AUTHORITIES. Lord Orrery, Mr. T. Sheridan, Dr. Hawkesworth, Dr. Johnson, Dr. Delany, and Mrs. Pilkington.

† Though his family was an ancient one in Yorkshire, and even boasted a Viscount (Carlingford, created by Charles I. in 1627) among its ancestry, he himself has been the herald, as Lord Orrery observes, to blazon the dignity of their coat. To a similar purport Gibbon has remarked, that "the 'Fairy Queen' is the richest jewel in the coronet of the Spencers." His paternal grandfather, Vicar of Goodrich in Herefordshire, married the aunt of Dryden, and by her had ten sons and three or four daughters. Of those sons six survived him, Godwin, Thomas, Dryden, William, Jonathan, and Adam. They seem to have courted poetical affinity. Thomas, who took orders, married the daughter of Davenant: Godwin married

vember 30, 1667. His mother, of the Leicestershire family of Heyrick, was left in distressed circumstances, having for her whole support only an annuity of 20*l*. Grief, and a bad state of health, prevented her from suckling him; and when he was about a year old, the nurse to whose care he had been committed being obliged to visit a sick relation at Whitehaven, and feeling herself unwilling to part with him, conveyed him on shipboard without the knowledge of his mother or relations, and kept him with her\* during the three years which she spent at that place.

From this circumstance many of his friends imagined him to be a native of England; while others regarded him as the natural son of Sir William Temple. Neither of these suggestions, however, can be true; for although in his angry moods, when he was provoked at the ingratitude of the Irish, he was frequently heard to exclaim, "I am not of this vile country; I am an Englishman:" in his cooler hours, he never denied his extraction. On the contrary, he frequently pointed out the house where he was born. The notion concerning his illegitimacy is equally false. Sir William Temple was employed as a minister abroad from 1665 to 1670; so that Swift's mother, who never crossed the sea except from England to Ireland, could not possibly have had any

more profitably; one of his four wives was a relation to the old Marchioness of Ormond, upon which account the Duke made him his Attorney General in the county of Tipperary. The other four were attorneys.

\* The same affliction led her to teach him so carefully, that before he was five years old, he could read any chapter in the Bible.

personal intercourse with him, till some years after her son's birth.

The care of his education was undertaken by his uncle Mr. Godwin Swift, an eminent barrister, who (though he had children of his own) received his mother,\* likewise, and his infant sister under his protection, and thus became a guardian to the whole family. This gentleman, when his nephew was six years of age, sent him to school at Kilkenny; and eight years afterward, entered him, with a small allowance however, at Trinity College, Dublin, under the tuition of Mr. St. Ashe, a scholar of considerable science. There Swift lived in perfect regularity, and in an entire obedience to the statutes: but the moroseness of his temper, exasperated by the penuriousness of his eldest uncle, and the total neglect of the rest, rendered him generally unacceptable to his companions; so that he was little regarded, and less beloved. Neither were the academical exercises agreeable to his genius. Logic and Metaphysics he held in the utmost contempt; and, if he paid some slight attention to Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, it was chiefly for the purpose of turning them into ridicule.

His favourite studies were History and Poetry, in which he made a great progress. To other branches of science he had so little applied, that when he appeared at the usual period as a candidate for the degree of B. A., he was set aside on account of insufficiency; and at last obtained his admission *speciali gratiâ*, a phrase which in the University of

† She subsequently quitted his family, and retired to Leicester, where she found support from her own.



Dublin implies the highest reproach. Fired with indignation at this treatment, he resolved to pursue his studies at Oxford. He did not however immediately migrate, but continued in his original society for two or three additional years, when he was admitted *ad eundem* in the English University, and entering himself of Hart Hall (now Hertford College) took his degree of M. A., in 1692.\* Here, in order to recover his lost time, he studied eight hours daily for seven years. This part of his story, remarks Dr. Johnson, well deserves to be remembered: it may afford useful admonition and powerful encouragement to men, whose abilities have been made for a time useless by their passions or pleasures, and who having lost one part of life in idleness, are tempted to throw away the remainder in despair.

In 1688, his uncle had fallen into a kind of lethargy, which deprived him by degrees of his speech and memory; and his affairs being in great disorder, he was no longer capable of contributing even his former mite of service to his brother's family.† In this distressed situation, Sir William Temple‡ generously stepped in to their relief, and undertook the education of young Swift at the University. This act of

\* There are not quite two months between the date of his *testimonium*, sent him from Dublin to Oxford, and his taking his master's degree. In this document the ignominious words, *speciali gratiâ*, were either by the influence of his uncle William omitted, or interpreted as a compliment to his merit.

† The eldest son Willoughby, however, sent him a present of a larger sum, than ever he had been master of before.

‡ Whose lady was related to Swift's mother; and whose father, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, had been the intimate friend of his uncle Godwin.

It ought not here to be omitted, that another of his father's

friendship subsequently received, as abovementioned, an illiberal interpretation.

Upon quitting Oxford, Swift went to reside with Sir William as his domestic companion; and after passing two years in that situation, contracted a long and dangerous illness by eating an immoderate quantity of fruit. To this surfeit (of which he in vain endeavoured to obviate the effect by a journey to Ireland) he was frequently heard to ascribe that giddiness in his head, which with intermissions sometimes of a longer and sometimes of a shorter continuance, pursued him to his grave.

But he continued indefatigable in his studies, and to prevent the loss of health too often consequent upon sedentary habits, used to run up a hill near the house and down again, a space of nearly half a mile in a time of about six minutes, every two hours. Copious extracts from Cyprian, Irenæus, Sleidan's 'Commentaries,' and P. Paoli's 'History of the Council of Trent,' which were found among his papers, attest not only the direction, but also the extent of his lucubrations at this period.

In compliance with the advice of physicians, when he was sufficiently recovered to be moved, he went to Ireland to try the effects of his native air: but, finding that he derived the greatest benefit from the exercise of travelling, he speedily returned into England, and was again affectionately received by Temple at Sheen.\*

brothers, Mr. William Swift, assisted him when at Oxford by donations, if not more liberal in amount, more gracious in manner, and thus engaged his warmest gratitude.

\* When Temple was consulted, by the Earl of Portland, about the expediency of complying with a bill for making parliaments

Here Swift had frequent conversations with King William, on that Prince's visits to his patron, in one of which he was taught how to cut asparagus in the Dutch way, and in another offered a captaincy of horse: but at that time he had resolved within his own mind to enter into the church; and throughout his life his resolutions, once fixed, were immoveable.

About this time, he assisted Sir William in revising his works. He, likewise corrected, his own 'Tale of a Tub,' a sketch of which he had drawn up while he was a student at Trinity College, Dublin.\* He attempted also some Odes to Temple.

triennial, he sent Swift to Kensington with a statement, proving that 'the proposal involved nothing dangerous to royal power.' But the predetermination of the King rendered both the arguments, and the art with which they were displayed, ineffectual. The consequence of this wrong step, he observes, was extremely unhappy; for although it is esteemed a part of the royal prerogative to refuse passing a bill, the learned in the law infer differently from the expression used at the coronation, by which the Sovereign bindeth himself to "consent to all laws *quas vulgus elegerit*."

\* At first, however, he had limited the communication of it to his chum Mr. Waring, the brother of the lady who received his earliest juvenile addresses, and with whom he romantically corresponded under the name of 'Varina.' This connexion, subsequently broken off by an unlover-like and dictatorial epistle, occasioned (it has been surmised) his mysterious conduct toward Miss Johnson. This composition, as a curious species of love-letter, is here subjoined:

"MADAM,

"*Dublin, May 4, 1700.*

"I am extremely sorry at the account you give of your health; for my uncle told me, he found you in appearance better than you had been in some years, and I was in hopes you had still continued so. God forbid I should ever be the occasion of ~~creating~~ more troubles to you, as you seem to intimate! The

to his Sovereign, and to a set of philosophers calling themselves the 'Athenian Society,' in which he

letter you desired me to answer, I have frequently read, and thought I had replied to every part of it that required: however, since you are pleased to repeat those particulars wherein you desire satisfaction, I shall endeavour to give it you as well as I am able. You would know, what gave my temper that sudden turn, as to alter the stile of my letters since I last came over. If there has been that alteration you observe, I have told you the cause abundance of times. I had used a thousand endeavours and arguments, to get you from the company and place you are in; both on the account of your health and humour, which I thought were like to suffer very much in such an air, and before such examples. All I had in answer from you, was nothing but a great deal of arguing, and sometimes in a stile so very imperious as I thought might have been spared, when I reflected how much you had been in the wrong. The other thing you would know is, whether this change of stile be owing to the thoughts of a new mistress. I declare, upon the word of a Christian and a gentleman, it is not: neither had I ever thoughts of being married to any other person but yourself. I had ever an opinion, that you had a great sweetness of nature and humour; and whatever appeared to the contrary, I looked upon it only as a thing put on, as necessary before a lover: but I have since observed in abundance of your letters such marks of a severe indifference, that I began to think it was hardly possible for one of my few good qualities to please you. I never knew any so hard to be worked upon, even in matters where the interest and concern are entirely your own; all which, I say, passed easily while we were in the state of formalities and ceremony: but since that, there is no other way of accounting for this untractable behaviour in you, but by imputing it to a want of common esteem and friendship for me.

When I desired an account of your fortune, I had no such design as you pretend to imagine. I have told you many a time, that in England it was in the power of any young fellow of common sense to get a larger fortune than ever you pretended to: I asked, in order to consider whether it were sufficient, with the help of my poor income, to make one of your humour easy in a married state. I think it comes to almost a hundred pounds a

aimed at the strained Pindaric flights, recently by Cowley and others brought into vogue. Upon the

year: and I think, at the same time, that no young women in the world of the same income would dwindle away their health and life in such a sink, and among such family-conversation; neither have all your letters been once able to persuade me, that you have the least value for me, because you so little regarded what I so often said upon that matter. The dismal account you say I have given you of my livings [those of Laracor and Rath-beggan] I can assure you to be a true one; and, since it is a dismal one, even in your own opinion, you can best draw consequences from it. The place, where Dr. Bolton lived, is upon a living which he keeps with the deanery: but the place of residence for that they have given me is within a mile of a town called Trim, twenty miles from hence; and there is no other way, but to hire a house at Trim, or build one on the spot: the first is hardly to be done, and the other I am too poor to perform at present. For coming down to Belfast, it is what I cannot yet think of, my attendance is so close, and so much required of me. But our government sits very loose, and I believe will change in a few months: whether our part will partake in the change, I know not, though I am very apt to believe it; and then I shall be at leisure for a short journey. But I hope your other friends, more powerful than I, will before that time persuade you from the place where you are. I desire my service to your mother, in return for her remembrance: but for any other dealings that way, I entreat your pardon; and I think I have more cause to resent your desires of me in that cause, than you have to be angry at my refusals. If you like such company and conduct, much good do you with them! My education has been otherwise. My uncle Adam asked me one day in private, as by direction, what my designs were in relation to you; because it might be a hindrance to you, if I did not proceed? The answer I gave him, which I suppose he has sent you, was to this effect: "That I hoped I was no hindrance to you; because the reason you urged against an union with me was drawn from your indisposition, which still continued: that you, also, thought my fortune not sufficient, which is neither at present in a condition to offer you: that, if your health and my fortune were as they ought, I would prefer you above all your sex; but that, in the present

perusal of these verses, Dryden (it is said) pronounced, 'Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet.' Hence

condition of both, I thought it was against your opinion, and would certainly make you unhappy: that, had you any other offers which your friends or yourself thought more to your advantage, I should think I were very unjust to be an obstacle in your way." Now for what concerns my fortune, you have answered it. I desire, therefore, you will let me know if your health be otherwise than it was when you told me the doctors advised you against marriage, as what would certainly hazard your life. Are they, or you, grown of another opinion in this particular? Are you in a condition to manage domestic affairs, with an income of less (perhaps) than three hundred pounds a year? Have you such an inclination to my person and humour, as to comply with my desires and way of living, and endeavour to make us both as happy as you can? Will you be ready to engage in those methods I shall direct for the improvement of your mind, so as to make us entertaining company for each other, without being miserable when we are neither visiting or visited? Can you bend your love, and esteem, and indifference to others the same way as I do mine? Shall I have so much power in your heart, or you so much government of your passions, as to grow in good humour upon my approach, though provoked by a —? Have you so much good nature, as to endeavour by soft words to smooth any rugged humour occasioned by the cross accidents of life? Shall the place, wherever your husband is thrown, be more welcome than courts and cities without him? In short, these are some of the necessary methods to please men who, like me, are deep-read in the world: and, to a person thus made, I should be proud in giving all due returns toward making her happy. These are the questions I have always resolved to propose to her, with whom I meant to pass my life; and, whenever you can heartily answer them in the affirmative, I shall be blessed to have you in my arms, without regarding whether your person be beautiful or your fortune large. Cleanliness in the first, and competency in the other, is all I look for. I desire, indeed, a plentiful revenue, but would rather it should be of my own; though I should bear from a wife to be reproached for the greatest.

I have said all I can possibly say in answer to any part of

the vindictive rancor, with which greatly to his own discredit both as a moralist and a critic, Swift perpetually attacked the reputation of that distinguished writer.\*

His patron's conversation naturally turning upon political subjects, under his able guidance Swift acquired a competent knowledge of public affairs. Suspecting however, at length, that Temple neglected to provide for him merely in order to keep him in his family, he resentfully left him in 1694, returned to Ireland, and took orders.

Notwithstanding this quarrel, Sir William recommended him in the strongest terms to Lord Capel, then Lord Deputy, who gave him a prebend.† But Swift soon grew weary of his preferment. In itself inconsiderable, it lay at so great a distance from the metropolis, that it absolutely deprived him of all the society in which he intensely delighted. He was glad, therefore, to resign it ‡ in favour of a friend (a poor curate, who with a numerous family of children

your letter, and in telling you my clear opinion as to matters between us. I singled you out at first from the rest of women; and I expect not to be used like a common lover. When you think fit to send me an answer to this without —, I shall then approve myself, by all means you shall command, Madam, your most faithful humble servant.

\* See, particularly, his 'Battle of the Books.'

† Of Kilroot in the diocese of Connor, a northern district, worth about 100*l.* *per ann.* The highest object of his ambition originally was, the chaplaincy of the Factory at Lisbon!

‡ In this surrender, we are informed by Mr. Sheridan, he felt 'exquisite pleasure:' nor is it to be wondered at; since it was the first opportunity he ever had of letting loose that spirit of generosity and benevolence, whose greatness and vigour, when pent up in his own breast by poverty and dependence, served only as an evil spirit to torment him.

had only 40*l.* *per ann.*) and to revisit Sir William Temple, who, considering his return as an act of kindness to him in the close of his days, was not only sincerely reconciled to him for the remaining four years of his life,\* but also left him by will a considerable legacy in money, supposed to have been about 500*l.*, and the care and emolument of publishing his posthumous works.

During his second residence with Sir William, in which he took upon himself the office of preceptor to his niece, he became acquainted with Miss Johnson, the daughter of that gentleman's steward, subsequently celebrated in his works by the name of Stella. She was then about fourteen, exquisitely beautiful, and of such fine talents, that he found great pleasure in cultivating and improving her mind along with that of his pupil.

Soon after Temple's death, he came to London, and seized the earliest opportunity of transmitting a memorial to King William, reminding him of a promise made to his patron, 'that Mr. Swift should have the first vacancy which happened among the prebendaries of Westminster or Canterbury.' This memorial had no effect: Swift, indeed, himself subsequently declared, that 'he believed the King never received it. After a long and fruitless attendance at Whitehall, he reluctantly gave up all thoughts of a settlement in England.

Another sensible mortification, likewise, determined

\* As a testimony of this revived friendship, Swift wrote his 'Battle of the Books,' of which Temple was the hero, founded on an ingenious French Tract, entitled '*Histoire Poétique de la Guerre nouvellement déclarée entre les Anciens et les Modernes.*'



him to quit the kingdom : he had inscribed Temple's Works to the King; but the dedication was neglected, nor did his Majesty ever afterward take the least notice of him.

He, therefore, complied with an invitation from the Earl of Berkeley, appointed one of the Lords Justices in Ireland,\* to attend him as his Chaplain and Private Secretary; and, in conformity to his engagement, accompanied his principal during the journey from Waterford to Dublin. But one Bushe had by this time insinuated himself into his Lordship's favour, and persuaded him, that 'the secretaryship was improper for a clergyman, to whom church-preferments alone could be either suitable or beneficial.' Accordingly, with some slight apology, Swift was divested of his office, which was given to Bushe.

Of this treatment the discarded Secretary expressed his sensibility in a satirical copy of verses, entitled, 'The Discovery.' During Lord Berkeley's government, however, the rectory of Agher with the vicarages of Laracor and Rathbeggan, in the diocese of Meath, worth jointly about 260*l. per ann.*, were

\* Lord Galway was the other. In 1700, the deanery of Derry was, through Bushe's influence, refused to him by Lord Berkeley; and the two rectories mentioned below, of less than half it's value, were given him in it's stead. This deanery, in consequence of Swift's having indignantly declined to pay the Secretary a large bribe, was bestowed upon another chaplain of Lord Berkeley's, Dr. Bolton, who was subsequently made in rapid succession Bishop of Clonfert, Bishop of Elphin, and Archbishop of Cashel. In his last see, he became a most zealous patriot. See Sheridan's *Life of Swift*, ii. 171., Nichols' edit. 12mo. 1803. About this time, Swift's humorous vein of poetry began to display itself in several little pieces, as 'The Humble Petition of Mr. Frances Harris,' &c.

bestowed upon him. These were the only church-preferments, which he enjoyed, till he was appointed Dean of St. Patrick's.

After taking possession of his livings, he went to reside at Laracor, and gave public notice to his parishioners, that 'he would read prayers once every Wednesday and Friday.\* Upon the subsequent Wednesday, the bell was rung, and the Rector attended in his desk: when after having sat some time, finding the congregation to consist only of himself and his clerk Roger, he began with great composure, and with a turn peculiar to himself; 'Dearly beloved Roger, the Scripture moveth you and me in sundry places,' and proceeded regularly through the whole service. This trifling circumstance is only mentioned to show, that he could not resist displaying his humour whenever an opportunity presented itself.

Soon after his settlement at Laracor, he invited to Ireland Miss Johnson, at that time eighteen, to whom Sir William Temple in consideration of her father's services had left 1000*l*. With her came a lady related to the Temple family, of the name of Dingley, whose whole fortune was an annuity of 27*l*. To

\* The reverential manner, in which he 'said grace' at table, has been properly recorded. His words were few upon the occasion, but they were invariably pronounced with great emphasis and fervor, "with his hands clasped in each other and lifted to his breast;" and though, by his frequent absences from his cures, he appears to have delayed the execution of his professional resolutions of excelling, he used to declare that 'he did not totally renounce it till his acquaintance with Harley:' and of his subsequent attachment to politics he constantly spoke with indubitable signs of penitence and regret. He complained, indeed, that from the time of his political controversies he could only 'preach pamphlets.'

these two friends he gave his leisure and his confidence, but they never resided in the same house with him. During his absence, they occupied his parsonage; but upon his return they invariably removed to a lodging, or to the house of Dr. Raymond, a neighbouring clergyman at Trim. Ambition, not love, however, was his predominant passion.

During the life of his mother, who resided at Leicester, he scarcely ever failed to pay her an annual visit. His manner of travelling, upon these occasions, was as singular as his other actions. He often went in a waggon; but more frequently he walked to Leicester, London, or any other part of England. It was his general custom to dine with waggoners, ostlers, &c. and to lodge in houses where he found written over the door, 'Lodgings for a penny;' though he usually bribed the maid with sixpence, for a separate bed and clean sheets. He delighted, indeed, in scenes of low life. But Johnson invidiously suggests, that this conduct might have arisen from "a passion which seems to have been deep fixed in his heart, the love of a shilling." \*

\* Elsewhere however, after observing that "in his economy he practised a peculiar and offensive parsimony, without disguise or apology," and that "the practice of saving being once necessary became habitual, growing first ridiculous and at last detestable," he adds; "but his avarice, though it might exclude pleasure, was never suffered to encroach upon his virtue. He was frugal by inclination, but liberal by principle; and if the purpose to which he destined his little accumulation be remembered, with his distribution of occasional charity, it will perhaps appear that he only liked one mode of expense better than another, and saved merely that he might have something to give. He did not grow rich by injuring his successors, but left both Laracor and the deanery more valuable than he found them.—With all this talk of his covetousness and his generosity, it should be remembered,

In 1701, Swift took his degree of D.D. and upon the accession of Queen Anne came over to England. The ministers of that period, it must be recorded to their honour, under whatever titles distinguished, were invariably encouragers of learning and patrons of learned men. Amidst the crowd of wits, who hailed and dignified the new Court, yet superior to the rest, appeared Dr. Swift. In a mixture of those two jarring parties, called Whig and Tory, consisted her Majesty's first ministry; but the principal authority and influence was chiefly engrossed by the Whigs. The Queen herself, whose heart naturally inclined toward their adversaries, remained for several years an unwilling prisoner in their hands, till Harley at length broke her chains, and for the remainder of her life surrounded her with a set of Tories under the conduct of the Duke of Ormond and himself.

Swift, who had been educated with Whigs,\* at least with such as are ranged under that title, had commenced political author in 1701; when he published a 'Discourse on the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome, with the Consequences they had upon both

that he was never rich. The revenue of his deanery was not much more than 700*l.* a year. Besides, he had suffered enough in early life from the want of money, to justify his subsequent care in the disbursement. It should not be forgotten, that the first 500*l.* which he could call his own he most judiciously, as well as charitably, lent out in small sums to diligent and necessitous tradesmen, to be repaid weekly at 2*s.* and 1*s.* without interest. He made a rule to himself, to give but one piece at a time, and therefore always stored his pocket with coins of different value.

\* His motives for quitting their ranks appear throughout his works.

States,' drawn up with the most disinterested and patriotic feeling in defence of King William and his ministers, Portland, Orford, Somers, and Halifax, against the violent proceedings in the House of Commons.\*

From this time to the year 1708, Lord Orrery informs us, he did not produce any political pamphlet. In 1708, beside other works, he wrote an 'Argument against abolishing Christianity,' a very happy and judicious irony, as it is pronounced by Dr. Johnson, who selects from it the following passage: "If Christianity were once abolished, how could the freethinkers, the strong reasoners, and the men of profound learning be liable to find another subject, so calculated in all points whereon to display their abilities? What wonderful productions of wit should we be deprived of from those, whose genius by continual practice hath been wholly turned upon raillery and invectives against religion, and who would therefore never be able to shine or distinguish themselves upon any other subject? We are daily complaining of the great decline of wit among us, and would take away the greatest, perhaps the only topic we have left. Who would ever have suspected Asgill for a wit, or Toland for a philosopher, if the inexhaustible stock of Christianity had not been at hand to provide them with materials? What other subject, through all art or nature, could have produced Tindal for a profound author, or furnished him with readers? It is the wise choice of the subject, that alone adorns and distinguishes the writer. For, had a hundred such pens as these been employed on the

\* It was the only anonymous piece, which Swift ever explicitly avowed as his own production.

side of religion, they would have immediately sunk into silence and oblivion."

His other works of this date were, his 'Sentiments of a Church of England Man,' his ridicule of Astrology under the name of 'Bickerstaff,'\* and his Defence of the 'Sacramental Test.' In 1709, appeared his 'Project for the Advancement of Religion,' addressed to his patroness, Lady Berkeley: after which, he went over to Ireland, and spent much of his time with Addison, then Secretary to the Earl of Wharton, Lord Lieutenant.

His intimacy with Harley commenced, as may be deduced from his writings, in October, 1710. In a Poem composed in 1713, he says,

' 'Tis, let me see, three years and more  
(October next will make it four)  
Since Harley bid me first attend,  
And chose me for an humble friend.' †

The business, which first introduced him to this nobleman, was a commission sent to him by the Primate of Ireland, to solicit of the Queen that the Irish

\* This became so popular, that Steele borrowed the name for his 'Tatler.'

† Again, in another poem of the same year,

' My Lord would carry on the jest,  
And down to Windsor take his guest.  
" Swift much admires the place and air,  
" And longs to be a canon there."  
" A canon! that's a place too mean:  
" No, Doctor, you shall be a Dean."

From this last quotation, to which might easily be added many others, it appears that a settlement in England was the constant object of his ambition; so that his promotion to a deanery in Ireland was rather a disappointment, than a reward.

Clergy might be released from the Twentieth Penny and First Fruits. Previously, however, to his first interview with Harley, he took care to get himself represented as ‘a person who had been ill used by the preceding administration, because he would not go all lengths with them.’ The new minister\* received him with open arms, speedily accomplished his business, bade him ‘come often to see him privately,’ and told him, that ‘he must bring him to the knowledge of Mr. St. John.’† After this, Swift quickly became acquainted with the rest of the

\* All his distinction, however, he appears principally to have enjoyed only as it was participated with his beloved Stella; to whom he sent a Journal regularly dated every fortnight, during the whole time of his connexion with Queen Anne’s Ministry, from September 2, 1710 to June 6, 1713. From the whole of this it appears, that ‘though ambition pressed him into a life of bustle, the wish for a life of ease was often returning.’ It should be recorded to his honour, that during his whole connexion with the great, he would never suffer himself to be treated but as an equal. He refused to introduce Parnell to Harley, though requested by the latter, on the principle that ‘a man of genius was a character superior to a lord in office:’ and indignantly returned the Treasurer a draft of 50*l.*, which had been sent by his private Secretary; though he subsequently accepted a draft for 1000*l.* upon the Exchequer, of which the payment however was intercepted by the Queen’s death. His spirit, therefore, does not appear to have been superior to personal views. He loved money, indeed, and hankered after preferment: but it was the dictate of that constitutional and unsubmitting pride, which governed all his actions. This overleaping of the barriers, which custom has established between one order of society and another, was by himself and his admirers termed ‘greatness of soul.’ But he should have remembered, that a great soul never usurps what a lawful claimant may take away. He, that encroaches on another’s dignity, puts himself in his power: he is either repelled with helpless indignity, or endured by clemency and condescension.

† Subsequently Lord Bolingbroke.

cabinet, who appear to have courted him with uncommon assiduity.\*

Henceforward to the death of the Queen, the most vigorous and important period of his life, we find him constantly fighting on their side, and maintaining their cause in all the various warfare of pamphlets, poems, and weekly papers. In this conflict of talents Addison, Burnet, Steele, Rowe, and Congreve marshalled themselves on the side of the Whigs: the chief Tory champions were Bolingbroke, Atterbury, Prior, Freind, and King. The latter had already published twelve numbers of the 'Examiner,' when Swift joined their party. That paper was instantly consigned to his sole management, and within the ensuing six months he wrote thirty-two additional numbers, when he left it to be continued by Mrs. Manley and other hands. In 1711, he published his

\* Johnson seems to doubt a little, whether he was ever fully admitted to Harley's confidence, though he owns he was one of the sixteen ministers, or agents of the ministry, who met weekly at each other's houses, and were united by the name of 'Brothers.' He appears, indeed, to have sympathised with the October Club, a number of Tories (about a hundred) sent from the country to parliament, who called loudly for more changes and stronger efforts than Harley, not quick by nature and slower by irresolution, was disposed to make. Harley was "a Tory only by necessity, or for convenience; and, when he had power in his hands, had no settled purpose for which he should employ it. Forced to gratify to a certain degree the Tories who supported him, but unwilling to make his reconciliation to the Whigs utterly desperate, he corresponded at once with the two expectants of the crown, and kept (as has been observed) the succession undetermined. Not knowing what to do, he did nothing; and, with the fate of a double dealer, at last he lost his power, but kept his enemies."



‘Letter to the October Club,’ which put an end to their unconstitutional cabals. The year following, appeared his Letter to Harley on ‘Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue,’ of which Johnson speaks with little commendation; and, also, his celebrated political tract, entitled ‘The Conduct of the Allies.’ Of this latter publication, of which the object was to persuade the nation to a peace, in an age far less populous and book-buying than the present eleven thousand copies were sold in less than a month! To its propagation, indeed, no agency of power or of influence was wanting. It was followed by his ‘Barrier Treaty,’ and his insulting ‘Remarks on the Bishop of Sarum’s Introduction to the Third Volume of his History of the Reformation.’ By these labours, though his wit (in Dr. Johnson’s judgement) was successfully encountered by that of Addison, he certainly turned the stream of popularity against the Whigs, and appears for a time to have dictated the political opinions of the English nation. But, notwithstanding his services, he remained without preferment till 1713, when he was made Dean of St. Patrick’s.

There is great reason to imagine, that the temper of Swift occasioned his English friends to wish him promoted at a distance. His spirit was ever untractable, and the motions of his genius irregular. He assumed the airs rather of a patron, than of a friend; affected to dictate, instead of advising; and was elated with the appearance of enjoying ministerial confidence.

Reflexions of this kind will account for his missing an English mitre, though he himself ascribed his

disappointment to a joint application of Archbishop Sharp, whom he calls 'the harmless tool of others' hate,' and the Duchess of Somerset.

The Prelate, according to Swift's own account, had represented him to the Queen, in consequence of his 'Tale of a Tub,' as 'not a Christian;' and the Duchess, by producing his bitter copy of verses called the 'Windsor Prophecy,' had confirmed the royal displeasure. Her Majesty, therefore, gave away the bishopric contrary to her first intentions. Swift, however, kept himself within some tolerable bounds, while he spoke of his Sovereign; but his indignation knew no limits, when he mentioned his two confederated foes.

His 'Public Spirit of the Whigs,' printed about this time in answer to Steele's 'Crisis,' animadverted with so much severity and contempt upon the Scottish nation, that the Sixteen Peers in a body went up to the Queen, and demanded reparation. A Proclamation was accordingly issued, offering 300*l.* for the discovery of the author, and orders were issued to prosecute the printer; but, by some management, the storm was averted.

If this indecorous but witty work however, distinguished as it is by a vehemence and rapidity of mind, a copiousness of images, and a vivacity of diction, which he subsequently either never possessed or never exerted,\* lost him a mitre, it gained him the friendship of Addison, Arbuthnot, Berkeley, Congreve, Garth, Gay, Parnell, Prior, and Pope.

He had little reason to rejoice in the land, where

\* As being unlike Dr. Swift's general strain of composition, and for other reasons, it has been ascribed to Lord Somers by his biographer Mr. Cooksey.

his lot had fallen : for upon his arrival in Ireland, to take possession of his deanery, he found the violence of party reigning in that kingdom to the highest degree. The rabble had been taught to regard him as a Jacobite ; and they even carried their detestation so far, as to throw stones at him on his way through the streets. His chapter, also, received him with extreme reluctance. He was thwarted in all his measures, avoided as a pestilence, opposed as an invader, and marked out as a public enemy. Fewer talents, and less firmness, must have yielded to such opposition. But so strange are the revolutions of the world, that he lived to govern this very rabble with absolute sway.

His first step was, to reduce to obedience his reverend brethren of St. Patrick's ; in which he succeeded so effectually, that shortly after his arrival not a single member of that body offered to contradict him, even in trifles. On the contrary, they all held him in the highest veneration. Having established himself in his deanery, by passing through certain customs and formalities, or (to use his own words)

—— ‘ Through all vexations,  
 Patents, instalments, abjurations,  
 First-fruits, and tenths, and chapter-treats,  
 Dues, payments, fees, demands, and——cheats,’

in the beginning of the year 1714, he returned to England. There he found his great friends at the helm, particularly Oxford and Bolingbroke, much disunited among themselves, and their royal mistress sinking under the joint operations of distress and decay. After fruitlessly exerting his skill to effect a reconciliation in the cabinet, he saw that ‘ all was lost,’ and retired to a friend's house at Letcombe in Berk-

shire, where he wrote his 'Free Thoughts on the present State of Affairs.' The Queen's death, however, not only put a stop to it's publication, but closing all his views in England, sent him back to his Irish deanery oppressed with grief and discontent.

In a letter to Gay he observes: "Nothing so much contributed to my ease, as the turn of affairs after the Queen's death; by which all my hopes being cut off, I could have no ambition left, unless I would have been a greater rascal than happened to suit with my temper. I, therefore, sat down quietly at my morsel, adding only thereto a principle of hatred to all succeeding measures and ministries by way of sauce to relish my meat." "I have seen a letter," says Arbuthnot to Pope, "from Dean Swift: he keeps up his noble spirit; and, though like a man knocked down, you may behold him still with a stern countenance, and aiming a blow at his adversaries" "His first recourse," Dr. Johnson informs us, "was to piety. The thoughts of death rushed upon him at this time with such incessant importunity, that they took possession of his mind, when he first waked, for many years together."

From 1714 to 1720. his spirit of politics and patriotism he closely confined within his own breast. His attendance upon the public service of the church was uninterrupted: and, indeed, regularity was peculiar to him in all his actions.

His works, during this period, are few in number, and of small importance: Poems to Stella, and Trifles to Dr. Sheridan, fill up a great portion of the interval. Part of it, however, as Lord Orrery supposes, he devoted to 'Gulliver's Travels.' His mind was, likewise, fully occupied by an affecting private incident:

In 1713, he had formed an intimacy with a young lady in London, to whom he became a kind of preceptor; she was the daughter of a Dutch merchant of the name of Vanhomrigh, who had settled and died at Dublin. This lady, with a passion for reading and with a taste for poetry, conceived such a love for Swift, that she at last even made him an offer of marriage, upon which occasion he wrote his poem of 'Cadenus and Vanessa.'\* On her mother's death in 1714, she with her sister followed him to Ireland, where he frequently visited them, keeping up a literary correspondence with his lover. After his marriage, however, with Stella in 1716, his visits became less frequent, and Vanessa now again pressed him to accept her hand; but he only rallied her, and still avoided a positive denial. Upon this, she wrote to Stella, to inquire, Whether she was married to him, or not? Her letter was answered in the affirmative, and then sent to Swift. He immediately rode to Celbridge, Miss Vanhomrigh's country-seat, and rushing into her apartment indignantly flung down her own note upon the table without speaking a word. It proved her death-warrant; she survived it only a few weeks. She was sufficiently composed, however, to cancel a will which she had made in his favour, and to leave her whole fortune (amounting to nearly 8000*l.*) to her two executors, Dr. Berkeley the cele-

\* This Poem, in which Cadenus (the anagram of Decanus, 'the Dean?') had proclaimed her excellence, and confessed his love, Vanessa ordered by her will to be published, with all their letters, to the great distress of Swift and Stella; who however, upon a stranger's observing that 'Vanessa must have been an extraordinary person to inspire such a poem,' replied, "It was we'll known the Dean could write wisely upon a broomstick." The letters, at the desire of Dr. Sheridan, were suppressed.

brated bishop of Cloyne, and Mr. Marshall a counsellor at law.

He now occupied his leisure with some historical attempts on the 'Change of the Ministry,' and the 'Conduct of the Ministry;' and finished his 'History of the Four last Years of Queen Anne.' This was published after his death by Dr. Lucas, but failed to satisfy the curiosity which it had excited.

He opened his house, likewise, twice a week to the public, upon which occasions Miss Johnson regulated the entertainment, though she partook of it only as a guest. On the remaining days, with a view first of discharging some incumbrances, and afterward of saving money, he dined at a stated price with Mr. Worrall, a clergyman of his cathedral.

In 1716, after sixteen years of intimacy, he was privately married to Miss Johnson by Dr. Ashe, Bishop of Clogher, to whom he had been a pupil in college, and who, as a common friend of both, assisted in settling the conditions of this extraordinary union. But they still continued to live in separate houses as before; nor did Mrs. Swift ever lodge in the deanery, except when her husband was seized with a fit of giddiness.

In 1720, he re-assumed the character of a political writer. A small pamphlet, upon the Irish manufactories, was supposed to be his first essay, in Ireland, in that species of writing. This tract, recommending the universal use of Irish manufactures within the kingdom, roused the indignation of the ministry, and a prosecution against the printer was commenced; but it came to nothing. Some little pieces of poetry, to the same purpose, were no less acceptable; nor was his attachment to the true interest of his native

island any longer doubted. He was now looked upon with rapture, as he passed through the streets, and became the general arbitrator in disputes among his neighbours.

During his high tide of popularity, however, he did not wholly intermit his correspondence with his English friends, though in the following letter to Mr. Pope he states his reluctance in writing.

“ *Dublin, Sept. 20, 1723.*

“ Returning from a summer expedition of four months on account of my health, I found a letter from you, with an appendix longer than yours from Lord Bolingbroke. I believe there is not a more miserable malady than an unwillingness to write letters to our best friends; and a man might be philosopher enough in finding out reasons for it. One thing is clear, that it shows a mighty difference betwixt friendship and love; for a lover, as I have heard, is always scribbling to his mistress. If I could permit myself to believe what your civility makes you say, that I am still remembered by my friends in England, I am in the right to keep myself here—*Non sum qualis eram*. I left you in a period of life, when one year does more execution than three at yours; to which if you add the dulness of the air, and of the people, it will make a terrible sum. I have no very strong faith in you pretenders to retirement: you are not of an age for it, nor have gone through either good or bad fortune enough to go into a corner, and form conclusions *de contemptu mundi et fuga sæculi*; unless a poet grows weary of too much applause, as ministers do of too much weight of business.

“ **Your happiness is greater than your merit, in**

choosing your favourites so indifferently among either party. This you owe partly to your education, and partly to your genius employing you in an art in which faction has nothing to do: for I suppose Virgil and Horace are equally read by Whigs and Tories. You have no more to do with the constitution of Church and State, than a Christian at Constantinople; and you are so much the wiser and the happier, because both parties will approve your poetry as long as you are known to be of neither.

“ Your notions of friendship are new to me: I believe every man is born with his *quantum*, and he cannot give to one without robbing another. I very well know, to whom I would give the first places in my friendship, but they are not in the way: I am condemned to another scene, and therefore I distribute it in penny-worths to those about me, and who displease me least; and should do the same to my fellow-prisoners, if I were condemned to jail. I can, likewise, tolerate knaves much better than fools; because their knavery does me no hurt in the commerce I have with them, which however I own is more dangerous, though not so troublesome, as that of fools. I have often endeavoured to establish a friendship among all men of genius, and would fain have it done: they are seldom above three or four contemporaries, and if they could be united, would drive the world before them. I think it was so among the poets in the time of Augustus: but envy, and party, and pride have hindered it among us. I do not include the subalterns, of which you are seldom without a large tribe. Under the name of poets and scribblers I suppose you mean the fools you are content to see sometimes, when they happen to be mo-



dest; which was not frequent among them, while I was in the world.

“ I would describe to you my way of living, if any method could be called so in this country. I choose my companions among those of least consequence and most compliance: I read the most trifling books I can find, and whenever I write, it is upon the most trifling subjects: but riding, walking, and sleeping take up eighteen of the twenty four hours. I procrastinate more than I did twenty years ago, and have several things to finish, which I put off to twenty years hence: *Hæc est vita solutorum*, &c. I send you the compliments of a friend of yours, who hath passed four months this summer with two grave acquaintance at his country-house, without ever once going to Dublin, which is but eight miles distant; yet when he returns to London, I will engage you will find him as deep in the Court of Requests, the park, the operas, and the coffee-house, as any man there. I am now with him for a few days.

“ You must remember me with great affection to Dr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Congreve, and Gay. I think there are no more *codem tertio*'s between you and me, except Mr. Jervas, to whose house I address this, for want of knowing where you live: for it was not clear from your last, whether you lodge with Lord Peterborow, or he with you.

“ I am ever, &c.”

He made many efforts indeed, at various periods, to exchange the circuitous and imperfect enjoyment of letters for the delight of personal intercourse; and attempted to seduce the English Homer in particular, to Ireland, by assuring him that “ both summers and

winters were milder in that island, and things for life in general better for a middling fortune, with an absolute command of his company, and whatever obsequiousness or freedom he might expect or allow." "I have an elderly housekeeper," he adds, "who hath been my W-lp-le above thirty years, whenever I lived in this kingdom. I have the command of one or two villas near this town [Dublin]: you have a warm apartment in this house, and two gardens for amusement, &c." But Pope was not to be moved.

The popularity of Swift was swelled to it's fullest height by the publication of the 'Drapier's Letters' in 1724, which combined all ranks and professions in his applause. A patent had been obtained by one William Wood of Wolverhampton, through a bribe to the Duchess of Kendal, to coin halfpence to the amount of 180,000*l.* for the use of the sister-island. The Dean, under the name of M. B. Drapier, addressed a series of letters to the people, urging them 'not to receive this money;' and Wood, though powerfully supported, was compelled to withdraw his patent.\*

\* Upon this occasion an incident occurred, which displays Swift's peculiar character in it's most favourable light. The only person entrusted with his secret was his butler, who had transcribed his papers. This man, soon after the appearance of the government-proclamation, absented himself one night, and there was reason to believe that he had betrayed his master. On his return home, the Dean ordered him to strip off his livery, and quit the house: "I know (said he) that I am in your power; but, for that very reason, I will not bear either your insolence, or your neglect." The butler, who had only yielded to the temptation of drinking, humbly confessed his fault, and entreated to be forgiven; but the Dean was inexorable. He was dismissed with disgrace, and not received again till the term of the offered reward was expired. Soon afterward, his master called him up, and ordered the

Never was any name bestowed with more universal approbation, than that of the ‘Drapier’ upon Dr. Swift. Bumpers were poured forth to his honour, as large and as frequent as to the immortal memory of William III.: acclamations and vows for his prosperity attended him, whithersoever he went; and his portrait was painted in every street in Dublin. ‘The Dean,’ the title given to him by way of eminence, universally carried with it the idea of the first and greatest man in the kingdom. So avowed, indeed, was his authority, that Archbishop Butler (one of the Lords Justices) having accused him of exasperating the populace, he refuted the charge by saying, “If I had lifted up my finger, they would have torn you to pieces.” Upon every point relating to domestic policy in general, and to the trade of Ireland in particular, he was resorted to for his advice: but he was more immediately regarded as the legislator of the weavers, who frequently solicited him in a body to settle the rates of their manufactures, and the wages of their journeymen. When elections were depending for the city of Dublin, many of the companies refused to declare themselves, till they had previously consulted his sentiments and wishes upon the subject.

Early in 1726, after an absence of twelve years, he revisited England; and in conjunction with Pope, who furnished a preface, collected three volumes of ‘Miscellanies.’ Of these, the latter enjoyed the whole

other servants to attend. He then bid them take notice, that Robert was no longer their fellow-servant, but Mr. Blakeney, verger of St. Patrick’s, which place he had procured for him on account of his fidelity. The grateful man, however, still continued to serve his master as butler.

profit, which was very considerable. Swift indeed, unlike his associate, never seems to have regarded his literary exertions as objects of pecuniary emolument. The same year, likewise, he published his 'Gulliver's Travels;\*' a production received with such avidity, that the first edition bore a premium, before the second could be issued. Of it's four parts, the Voyages to Lilliput and to Brobdingnag gave

\* That this was the production of his spleen, may be inferred from the following extract of a letter to Pope upon the subject : " The chief end I propose in all my labours is, to vex the world, rather than to divert it; and, if I could compass that design without hurting my own person or fortune, I would be the most indefatigable writer you have ever seen, without reading. I have ever hated all nations, professions, and communities; and all my love is toward individuals: for instance, I hate all lawyers, but I love Counsellor Such-a-one, and Judge Such-a-one. 'Tis so with physicians (I will not speak of my own trade) soldiers, English, Scotch, French, and the rest: but, principally, I hate and detest that animal called man! though I heartily love John, Peter, Thomas, and so forth. I have got materials toward a treatise, proving the falsity of that definition *Animal Rationale*, and to show it should be only *Rationis Capax*. Upon this great foundation of misanthropy, though not in Timon's manner, the whole building of my 'Travels' is erected, and I will never have peace of mind till all honest men are of my opinion." This misanthropy induced him to dabble too much in gall.

" He turns his pen (says Davies) too frequently into a scalping-knife, and makes his wit the executioner of his ill-nature. Not content to overcome his antagonist by the strength of his abilities and the force of his argument, Swift treats him as if he were not only the dullest, but the vilest, of mankind. It is not enough for him to conquer, unless he tramples too upon his enemy: he frequently selects the most opprobrious terms and shocking expressions he can find in the English language, and throws them about at random on persons in the most exalted, as well as the lowest stations; on princes and stock-jobbers, chancellors and printers, duchesses and coiners, statesmen and news-writers, bishops and usurers, fine ladies and lewd rakes."

the greatest pleasure. The supposed satire on human nature, in his portrait of the Yahoo in the fourth, while it disgusted the general reader, exposed its author to a charge of misanthropy, from which he has been vindicated (if not with complete success, with considerable ingenuity) by Mr. Sheridan.

From the concerns, however, of authorship and the charm of English society he hurried to Ireland, upon receiving intelligence that ‘his Stella, to whom he had been completely reconciled, was dangerously ill.’ He had the satisfaction of finding her better; and returning to England the same year, kissed hands at court three days after the accession of the new Sovereign. Having been treated by the Queen, when Princess of Wales, with some distinction, possessing the regard of Mrs. Howard her favourite, and known to Walpole himself, he not unreasonably began again to hope that he might accomplish a settlement in England by an exchange of preferment; but in vain. On a summons like the preceding one, accompanied by a severe fit of giddiness of his own, he revisited his native island; a country to which not even power almost despotic, nor flattery almost idolatrous, could reconcile him:\* and it was, speedily, to lose its only remaining charm.

In 1727, died his Stella, regretted by him with such excess of sorrow as only the keenest sensibility could suffer, and the most excellent character excite or deserve. The singular conduct of this unaccount-

\* “His reiterated wailings,” says Dr. Johnson, “persuaded Bolingbroke, that he was really willing to quit his deanery for an English parish; and Bolingbroke procured an exchange, which was rejected, and Swift still retained the pleasure of complaining.”

able humourist, it is thought, threw her into a decline, and shortened her days.

Thus perished at the early age of forty four an amiable and beautiful woman, doomed to protracted misery in consequence of her having loved one, who (to adopt Dr. Delany's interpretation of his conduct) was fond of singularity, and desirous of making a mode of happiness for himself different from the general course of things and order of Providence. During the interval of eleven years between her marriage and her death, she had lived sullenly on, in hope that in time he would own and receive her: but she died under the tyranny of him, by whom she was in the highest degree adored and honoured!\*

\* In the character, which he himself drew up of Stella shortly after her death, he pronounces her 'the truest, most virtuous, and valuable friend, that he or perhaps any other person was ever blessed with:' and affirms that she 'never swerved, in any one deed or moment of her life, from the principles of honour and virtue;' had 'a gracefulness, somewhat more than human, in every motion, word, and action;' was not at any time known to 'cry out or discover any fear in a coach or on horseback, or any uneasiness in those sudden accidents, with which most of her sex (either by weakness, or affectation) appear so much disordered; or to discover the least absence of mind in conversation, or to interrupt or appear eager to put in her word by waiting impatiently till another had done;' and that, when enhanced prices and reduced interest of money began to cramp her expenditure, her 'charity to the poor (as a duty not to be diminished) became a tax upon those tradesmen, who furnish the fopperies of other ladies. "She bought clothes," he adds, "as seldom as possible, and then as plain and cheap as consisted with the way she was in; and wore no lace for many years. Either her judgement or fortune was extraordinary, in the choice of those on whom she bestowed her charity; for it went farther in doing good, than double the sum from any other hand. And I have heard her say, 'she always met with gratitude from the poor:'

After this melancholy event, his life became extremely retired, and the austerity of his temper greatly increased: his public days for receiving company were discontinued; and he even shunned the society of his most intimate friends. His faculties, however, appeared yet to have suffered little injury. One of his last pieces, ‘Verses on the death of Dr. Swift,’ is perhaps one of his best: and his ‘Epistle to a Lady,’ and his ‘Rhapsody on Poetry,’ both written with a view to gratify his resentment against

which must be owing to her skill in distinguishing proper objects, as well as her gracious manner in relieving them.

“But she had another quality, that much delighted her, although it may be thought a kind of check upon her bounty: however, it was a pleasure she could not resist. I mean, that of making agreeable presents, wherein I never knew her equal, although it be an affair of as delicate a nature as most in the course of life. She used to define a present, that ‘it was a gift to a friend of something he wanted or was fond of, and which could not be easily gotten for money.’ I am confident, during my acquaintance with her she hath, in these and some other kinds of liberality, disposed of to the value of several hundred pounds. As to presents made to herself, she received them with great unwillingness, but especially from those to whom she had ever given any; being, on all occasions, the most disinterested mortal I ever knew or heard of.”—“She loved Ireland much better than the generality of those, who owe both their birth and riches to it; and having brought over all the fortune she had in money, left the reversion of the best part of it, one thousand pounds, to Dr. Stephens’ Hospital. She detested the tyranny and injustice of England, in their treatment of this kingdom. She had, indeed, reason to love a country, where she had the esteem and friendship of all who knew her.” Of those he elsewhere names, as her visiting friends, the Primate Lindsay, Bishops Lloyd, Ashe, Browne, Stearne, and Pulleyn. “Indeed, the greatest number of her acquaintance was among the clergy.”

Walpole,\* who (as he conceived) had prevented the Queen from sending him some promised medals, are not inferior to any of his former productions of the same kind. He was as earnest, likewise, as usual in his schemes for bettering the condition of the Irish poor; and even devoted the third part of his income to charity: a deduction, which he could the better bear, as he had ceased to open his table to his acquaintance. He received, also, an additional proof of public regard: for, having been threatened by one Counsellor Bettsworth (an active Whig leader in Dublin) with corporal vengeance, in resentment of having been ‘hitched into a bitter rhyme,’ the inhabitants of St. Patrick’s district resolved to embody themselves for his defence.

But, with his advancing years, his fits of giddiness and deafness became both more frequent and more severe; till in 1736, as he was writing a satirical poem, called ‘The Legion Club,’ he was seized with one so dreadful, that he left the work unfinished, and never afterward attempted a composition of any length either in verse or prose. His conversation, however, still remained the same, lively and severe; though his memory gradually became worse and worse,† and his temper grew daily more fretful and impatient.

In 1738 appeared his ‘Polite Conversation,’ which had been the production of former years. This, and his ‘Directions for Servants,’ show “a mind incessantly attentive, and when it was not employed upon

\* Walpole was exasperated to the highest degree by these compositions, and even threatened a prosecution.

† He had resolved never to wear spectacles, which at last totally intercepted the amusement of reading.



great things, busy with minute occurrences. It is apparent, indeed, that he must have had the habit of noting whatever he observed; for such a number of particulars 'could never have been assembled by the power of recollection."

From 1739 to 1744, his passions grew so ungovernable, his memory so imperfect, and his reason so depraved, that the utmost precautions were taken to prevent strangers from approaching him; for, till then, he had not been totally incapable of conversation. In 1741 it was found necessary to appoint legal guardians of his person and fortune; and early in 1742, the small remains of his understanding becoming wholly confused, the violence of his rage increased to a degree of madness. His meat was brought to him cut into mouthfuls, which he would generally eat walking: for he was still on his feet ten hours a day.

In October, his left eye swelled to the size of a hen's egg, and several large boils broke out on his body. These, by the pain they caused, kept him awake nearly a whole month; during one week of which, it was with difficulty that five persons restrained him, by mere force, from pulling out his own eyes. Upon their subsiding, he knew those about him; and appeared so far to have recovered his understanding and his temper, that his friends hoped he might once more enjoy society. Their hopes, however, proved but of short duration: for a few days afterward he sunk into a state of total insensibility (the effect, as it was supposed, of water on the brain), slept much, and could not without great reluctance be induced to walk across the room. After he had continued silent a whole year in a state of idiotcy, his housekeeper

entered his room on his birth-day, and told him that 'bonefires and illuminations were preparing to celebrate it as usual:' to which he immediately replied, "It is all folly; they had better let it alone."

Some other instances of lucid intervals, after his madness ended in a stupor, seem to evince that his disorder, whatever it was, had only suspended his intellectual powers. In 1744, he occasionally called his servant by name; and once in an attempt to speak to him, not being able to express his meaning, he showed signs of great uneasiness, and at last exclaimed, "I am a fool." The same attendant, likewise, taking away his watch, he cried out, "Bring it here;" and on his breaking a large coal, he told him, "That is a stone, you blockhead." These were the last words he pronounced: after which, he remained a miserable spectacle of human weakness till the end of October, 1745; when, every power of nature being exhausted, he sunk into the arms of death without a struggle.

He had often been heard to lament the state of childhood and dotage, to which some of the wisest and greatest of men had been reduced; and mentioned, as examples within his own time, the Duke of Marlborough\* and Lord Somers. This he always did with a heavy sigh, and with much apparent un-

\* How beautifully, in his 'Vanity of Human Wishes,' has Johnson associated this noblman with his elegiac lampooner:

'In life's last scene what prodigies surprise,  
Fears of the brave, and follies of the wise;  
From Marlborough's eyes the streams of dotage flow,  
And Swift expires—a driveller and a show.'

This last melancholy fact, of his being exhibited, is asserted upon very respectable authority.

easiness, as if he anticipated what was to happen to himself.

No sooner was his death announced, than the citizens gathered from all quarters, and forced their way in crowds into the house, to pay the last tribute of grief to their departed benefactor. Nothing but lamentations were heard round the quarter where he lived, as if he had been cut off in the vigour of his years. Happy were they, who first got into the chamber where he lay, and procured by bribes to the servants locks of his hair, to be handed down as sacred relics to their posterity. So eager, indeed, were numbers to obtain at any price this precious memorial, that in less than an hour his venerable head was entirely stripped of it's silver ornaments, so that not a hair remained.

His whole fortune, which was about 12,000*l.*, he left (with the exception of legacies to the amount of 1,200*l.*\*) to the building of a Hospital for Idiots and Lunatics.

His remains were interred with much funeral pomp, being numerously attended by the weavers, and a vast concourse of other manufacturers and tradesmen. They were deposited in the great aisle of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, under a slab of black marble; upon which was inscribed the following Latin epitaph, written by himself:

*Hic depositum est corpus*  
JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P.  
*Hujus ecclesiæ cathedralis*  
*Decani,*  
*Ubi sæva indignatio*

\* His sister, Mrs. Fenton, had offended him by an imprudent marriage (as he proudly conceived it to be) with a tradesman.

*Ulterius cor lacerare nequit.*

*Abi, viator, et imitare,*

*Si poteris,*

*Strenuum pro virili libertatis vindicem.*

*Obiit anno (1745)*

*Mensis (Octobris) die (19)*

*Ætatis anno (78).*

“His person,” says Johnson, “had not many recommendations. He had a kind of muddy complexion, which, though he washed himself with Oriental scrupulosity, did not look clear. He had a countenance sour and severe, which he seldom softened by any appearance of gayety. He stubbornly resisted any tendency to laughter.”

His works have been frequently printed, and in various forms. Some additional volumes have, recently, been published by Deane Swift, Esq., and by Mr. Nichols.\*

“From his early hatred to hypocrisy,” says Dr. Sheridan, “he fell (forgetting his own assertion, that ‘hypocrisy is less mischievous than open impiety’) into the contrary extreme; and no mortal ever took more pains to display his good qualities, and appear in the best light to the world, than he did to conceal his, or even to put on the semblance of their contraries. This humour affected his whole conduct, as well in the more important duties, as in the common offices of life. Though a man of great piety and true religion, yet he carefully shunned all ostentation

\* Of these successive editions, the most accurate account is given by Mr. Nichols in the General Preface to his own; in which he observes that Lord Orrery, where he did not find the appearance of a fault in Swift, laboured hard to make one: Mr. Sheridan, on the other hand, (it may be remarked) is too uniformly panegyrical.

of it: as an instance of which it is well known that, during his residence in London, not being called upon by any duty to officiate publicly in his clerical capacity, he was seldom seen at church at the usual hours that pretenders to religion show themselves there; but he was a constant attendant on early prayers, and a frequent partaker of early sacraments. Though generous and charitable in his nature to the highest degree, he seemed to part with money so reluctantly, and spoke so much about economy, that he passed for avaricious and hard-hearted. His very civilities bore the appearance of rudeness; and his finest compliments were conveyed under the disguise of satire. Lord Bolingbroke, who knew him well, in two words summed up his character in this respect, by saying, that Swift was a ‘hypocrite reversed.’ When to this we add the party-animosities, to which by his eminence as a political partisan he was exposed, we cannot be surprised that on such a groundwork such a superstructure of calumny was erected against him. This, as no defence was made, was daily suffered to increase. For he had very unwisely laid it down as a maxim, ‘To act uprightly, and pay no regard to the opinion of the world.’

“Thus, while he was admired, esteemed, beloved beyond any man of his time by his particular friends, not only on account of his superior talents, but his pre-eminence in every kind of virtue; he was envied, feared, and hated by his enemies, who consisted of a whole virulent faction, to a man. And when we take in the general appetite for scandal, and the spirit of envy in the bulk of mankind which delights in the humiliation of an exalted character, we shall not be surprised that even among his own

party he found few advocates to vindicate his fame; and that he had no other support, in this torrent of abuse, but the consciousness of his own rectitude and the unalterable attachment of his intimate friends, among which number he could count such as were most eminent in those days both for talent and virtue."

"For a long time," the same writer elsewhere observes, "his several productions remained in a detached state, without the name of any author; nor could the general admiration they excited prevail on him to reveal himself, or claim them as his own. In this respect, he seems to have been actuated by the same principle which governed his whole conduct in life, that of the most perfect disinterestedness; and as he had laid it down for a maxim from the beginning, that 'he never would receive any pecuniary gratification for his writings,'\* so he used his best endeavours to avoid, as much as possible, even the reward of fame. Or if, in process of time, the author of works bearing the stamp of such uncommon genius should be discovered, it would be allowed that he courted not fame, but that fame followed him. The improvement of mankind being the chief object he had in view in all his publications, he thought the extraordinary talent, bestowed on him for this purpose with so liberal a hand, ought to be as liberally employed, without any mean mixture of selfish motives.

"In his public capacity, he was one of the truest

\* The only exceptions to this, if Mrs. Whiteway is correct, were his 'History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne's Reign,' and his 'Gulliver.' (*Letter to Mr. Pope, May 16, 1740.*)

patriots that ever lived, and for the many important services he did his country, he was hailed by the general voice *Pater Patriæ*. In his private life, of the strictest morals; and, in the discharge of his clerical duties, of exemplary piety. His charities were boundless, and the whole business of his life was, *DOING GOOD.*"

He continued through life (remarks Johnson) to retain the disposition, which he assigns to the Church of England man, of thinking commonly, with the Whigs, of the State, and, with the Tories, of the Church. "As to his political principles (we learn from another of his biographers) if his own account of them is to be believed, he abhorred Whiggism only in those who made it consist in damning the Church, reviling the clergy, abetting the Dissenters, and speaking contemptibly of Revealed Religion. He always declared himself against a Popish successor to the Crown, whatever title he might have by proximity of blood; nor did he regard the *right line* upon any other account, than as it was established by law, and had much weight in the opinions of the people. He was of opinion, that when the grievances suffered under a present government became greater than those which might probably be expected from changing it by violence, a revolution was justifiable; and this he believed to have been the case in that, which was brought about by the Prince of Orange. He had a mortal antipathy against standing armies in time of peace, and was of opinion that our liberty could never be placed upon a firm foundation, till the ancient law should be revived by which our parliaments were made annual. He abominated the political scheme of setting up the monied interest in

opposition to the landed, and was an enemy to temporary suspensions of the *Habeas Corpus* Act." In these notions, and in his general scheme of politics, Harley was known to concur.

"When you consider," says Dr. Delany to Orrery, "Swift's singular, peculiar, and most variegated vein of wit, always rightly intended (although not always so rightly directed) delightful in many instances, and salutary even when it is most offensive: when you consider his strict truth, his fortitude in resisting oppression and arbitrary power, his fidelity in friendship, his sincere love and zeal for religion, his uprightness in making right resolutions and his steadiness in adhering to them, his care of his church, it's choir, it's economy, and it's income; his attention to all those that preached in his cathedral, in order to their amendment in pronunciation and stile, as also his remarkable attention to the interest of his successors preferably to his own present emoluments; his invincible patriotism, even to a country which he did not love; his very various, well-devised, well-judged, and extensive charities throughout his life, and his whole fortune (to say nothing of his wife's) conveyed to the same christian purposes at his death; charities, from which he could enjoy no honour, advantage, or satisfaction of any kind in this world: when you consider his ironical and humorous, as well as his serious, schemes for the promotion of true religion and virtue; his success in soliciting for the First Fruits and Twentieths, to the unspeakable benefit of the Established Church of Ireland, and his felicity (to rate it no higher) in giving occasion to the building of fifty new churches in London—all this considered, the character of his life will appear



like that of his writings: they will bear to be reconsidered and re-examined with the utmost attention, and always discover new beauties and excellences upon every examination. They will bear to be considered as the sun, in which the brightness will hide the blemishes; and whenever petulant ignorance, pride, malice, malignity, or envy interposes to cloud or sully his fame, I will take upon me to pronounce that the eclipse will not last long.

“To conclude: no man ever deserved better of any country, than Swift did of his. A steady, persevering, inflexible friend; a wise, a watchful, and a faithful counsellor, under many severe trials and bitter persecutions, to the manifest hazard both of his liberty and fortune—he lived a blessing, he died a benefactor, and his name will ever live an honour to Ireland.”

To this character Sheridan subjoins an inscription to the memory of the Dean, drawn up in elegant Latin by Dr. Stopford, Bishop of Cloyne, who always acknowledged that ‘to Swift he was entirely indebted for every step of his preferment;’ and concludes his work with the following remark: “Upon the whole, when we consider his character as a man, perfectly free from vice, with few frailties and such exalted virtues; and as an author, possessed of such uncommon talents, such an original vein of humour, such an inexhaustible fund of wit, joined to so clear and solid an understanding: when we behold these two characters united in one and the same person, perhaps it will not be thought too bold an assertion to say, that his parallel is not to be found in the history either of ancient or modern times.”

A stern inflexible temper, says another writer,

and pride in a supreme degree were the basis upon which were built firmness, sincerity, integrity, and freedom from all mean jealousy; but alloyed with arrogance, implacability, carelessness of giving pain, and total want of candor. Numerous are the anecdotes of his rudeness and petulance in society, some of which were of a kind that meanness alone could tolerate. Of his obdurate and unfeeling nature many more examples might be adduced, if those already given were not more than sufficient.

As a writer, he was original, and probably will always remain unparalleled. In wit, he stands first in the walk of grave irony maintained with such an air of serious simplicity, that it would deceive any reader not aware of his drift.

Lord Orrery himself states that he always considered him as an 'abstract and brief chronicle of the times,' no man being better acquainted with human nature both in the highest and lowest scenes. His friends and correspondents were the greatest and most eminent men of the age, and the sages of antiquity were often the companions of his closet: for although he avoided an ostentation of learning, and generally chose to draw his materials from his own store, yet his knowledge of the ancient authors evidently appears from the strength of his sentiments and the classic correctness of his stile. His attendance upon the public service of the church was regular and uninterrupted: and, indeed, regularity was peculiar to him in all his actions, even in the greatest trifles. His hours of walking and reading never varied: his motions were guided by his watch, which was so constantly held in his hand, or placed before him

upon his table, that he seldom varied many minutes in the daily revolution of his exercises and employments."

In his church, as we are told by Johnson, he restored the practice of weekly communion, and distributed the sacramental elements in the most solemn and devout manner with his own hand. The suspicions indeed of his irreligion proceeded, in a great measure, from his dread of hypocrisy. He read prayers to his servants every morning with such dextrous secrecy, that Delany was six months in his house before he knew it! The Doctor, with all his zeal for his honour, has justly condemned this part of his conduct.

The principal difficulty that occurs in analysing his character is, to discover by what depravity of intellect he took delight in revolving ideas from which almost every other mind shrinks with disgust. Delany, in his vindication, asserts that 'his mind was not tainted by this gross corruption before his long visit to Pope in 1726, when he had reached his fifty ninth year.' But he had described his Yahoos before this contaminating visit; and he, that had formed those images, had nothing filthy to learn.

His poetical works are often humorous, almost always light, and have the qualities which recommend such compositions, easiness and gayety, and exemplify his own definition of a good stile, "proper words in proper places." It was said, in a preface to one of the Irish editions, that 'he had never been known to take a single thought from any writer, ancient or modern.' This is not literally true: but, perhaps, no writer can easily be found that has bor-

rowed so little, or that in all his excellences and all his defects has so well maintained his claim to be considered as original.

END OF VOL. V.







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